



To his Grace *J. Spindler sculp.* The Duke of
 ARGYLL This Plate is
 most humbly Dedicated.





To his Grace
ARGYLL
most humbly



The Duke of
This Plate is
Dedicated.

J. Spindelone sculp.

THE *History*
HISTORY
OF THE
LIFE
OF
PETER I.
EMPEROR OF *RUSSIA.*

IN THREE VOLUMES.

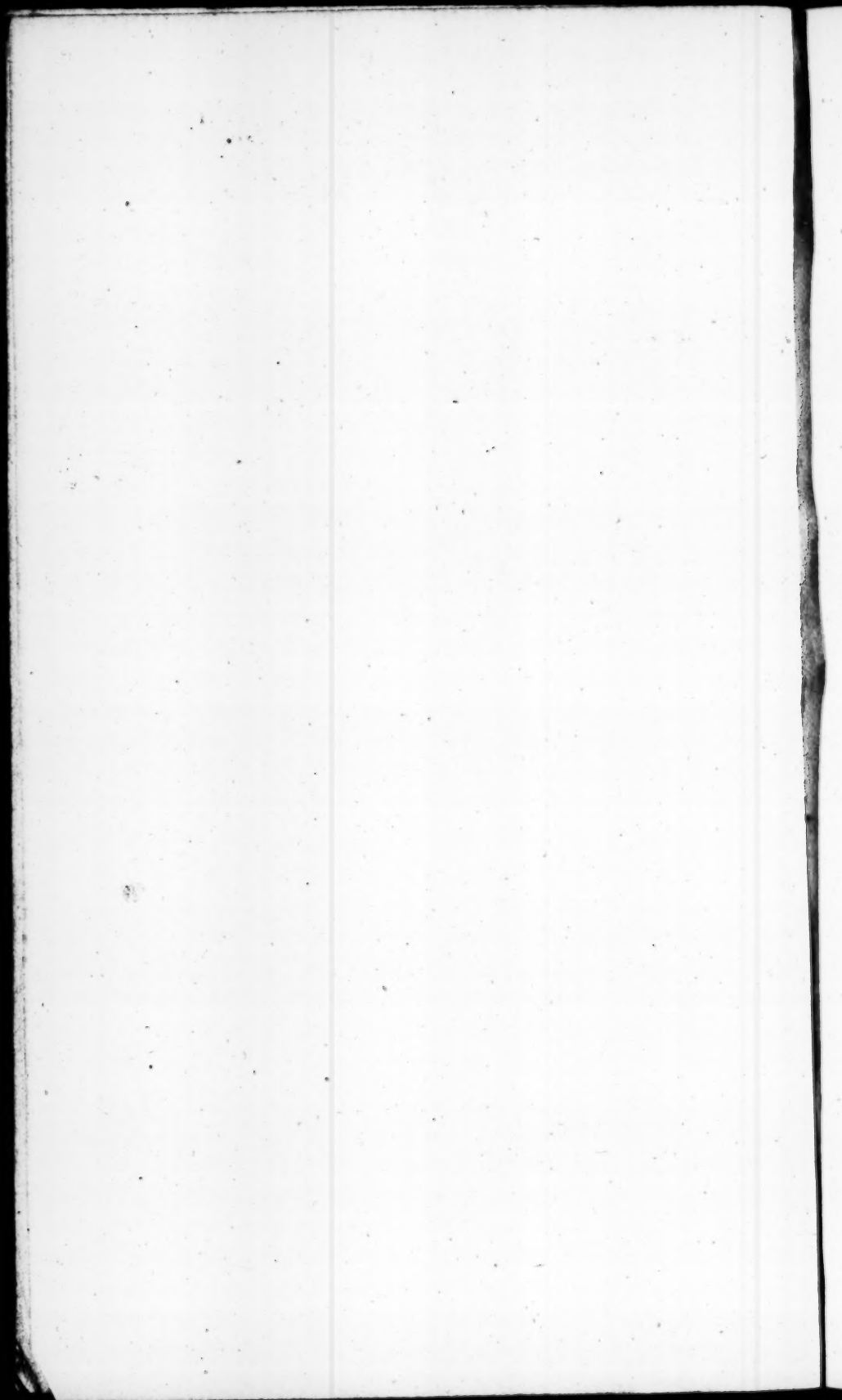
By JOHN MOTTLEY, Esq;

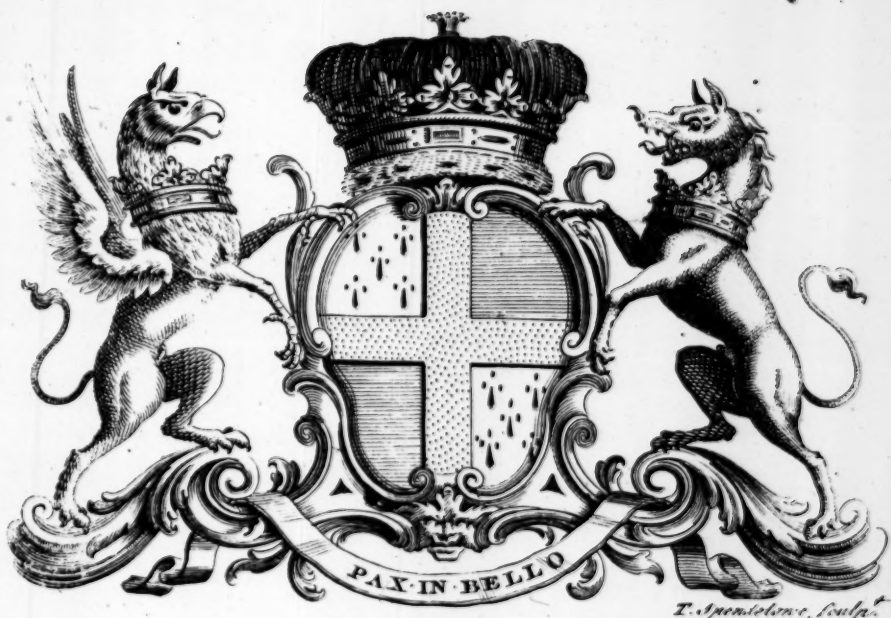
THE SECOND EDITION.

L O N D O N :

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M.DCC.XL.





TO HIS GRACE
THE
DUKE of *LEEDS*.

MY LORD,



HAVE many Reasons for
begging your GRACE's Pa-
tronage to this History of
the Life of PETER the
Great; but when I am to address my
self to a Person of your GRACE's Cha-

D E D I C A T I O N.

rafter, it will, I fear, be a difficult Task to form a Style, that may not seem either deficient of that Respect which is so much your Due, or favour of what I account the lowest of all Vices, I mean Flattery; though there can hardly be any Encomiums made upon the Duke of LEEDS, that will be thought Flattery by any but your-self; but, my Lord, that Modesty which, among a Crowd of other Virtues, makes your GRACE shun the Applauses of the World, will, even in Spite of your-self, oblige Mankind still the more loudly to proclaim their Admiration of him, who is more desirous of being *Good* and *Great*, than of being told how much he is thought so.

The History of PETER the *Great*, seems naturally to claim the Protection of your GRACE, whose Grandfather, of all our Nobility, was the Person that this mighty Emperor, when in *England*, expressed the greatest Esteem and Friendship for.

DEDICATION.

I dare say, my Lord, I may venture to affirm, that never any young Nobleman, at his first Appearance in the World, gave greater Expectations than your GRACE does at this Time of doing Honour to himself and Country; and therefore, by taking this Liberty of prefixing your GRACE'S Name to this Work, I cannot be without Hopes of preserving from Oblivion *That* of,

My Lord,

Your Grace's

most obliged

and most obedient

humble Servant,

JOHN MOTTLEY.

E R R A T A.

PAGE 4. Line 34. for *Hairs* read *Haves*. p. 5.
l. 37. for 1711, r. 1611. p. 7. l. 23. dele the
Word *near*. p. 13. l. 18. for *Boyer*, r. *Boyar*. p. 39.
l. 33. for *Debauches* r. *Debauchees*. p. 50. l. 10. for
Pultova r. *Pultowa*. p. 60. l. 16. for *Ruffia* r. *Russia*.
p. 80. l. 5. for *examined* r. *examine*. p. 85. l. 28. for
Wofrifestyn r. *Wofrifestyn*. p. 86. l. 28. for *were* r. *was*.
p. 87. l. 35. for *Angels* r. *Angles*. p. 157. l. 7. for *Good*
r. *Wood*. p. 173. l. 35. for *prepaſed* r. *propoſed*.
p. 206. l. 28. for *unaaccountably* r. *unaccountably*. p.
207. l. 37. for *Extrance* r. *Entrance*. p. 219. l. 19. for
Bothmick r. *Bothnick*. p. 221. l. 35. for *Galmucks* r.
Calmucks. p. 223. l. 10. for *throuh* r. *through*. p.
225. l. 23. dele the Word *the*. p. 232. l. 3. for *Hard-
neſs* r. *Hardineſs*. p. 332. r. 232. p. 233. l. 15 and
16. for *Warnargwſki* r. *Warnarowſki*. p. 248. l. 23
and 24. for *Loſs on Side* r. *Loſs on my Side*. p. 249. l.
3. for *Harmelin* r. *Hermelin*.



THE
HISTORY
OF
PETER I.
CZAR of MUSCOVY.

BOOK I.

The CONTENTS.

A short Account of the Country of Muscovy in general. The Death of Alexis Michaelowitz, the Czar PETER's Father. The Death of his elder Brother Theodore. A Relation of the Rebellion raised by the Princess Sophia, in Favour of her Brother John. John is proclaimed Czar, with his younger Brother Peter. A second Rebellion, raised by the Princess Sophia; and the End of her Regency.



THE EMPIRE of *Russia* or *Muscovy*, which is partly in *Europe* and partly in *Asia*, is bounded on the North, by the Frozen Sea, or Northern Ocean; on the East, by Great, or Chinese, *Tartary*; on the South, by the *Calmucks*, *Cuban Tartary*, *Georgia*, the *Palus Meotis*, *Tartary the Less*, the

VOL. I. B Euxine

Euxine and *Caspian* Seas; and on the West, by *Poland* and *Sweden*; from the Confines of which to those of *China*, in the East, it is 1500 Leagues in Length; and from the *Euxine* Sea, in the South, to the known Parts of *Nova Zembla*, in the North, above 600 Leagues, extending from 47 Degrees of North Latitude to some Places beyond the Arctic Circle.

This Country is called *Russia*, as most Authors agree, from an antient People of the Country, called *Rossi*, or *Russi*, so named from the Word *Rossia*, which signifies *Dispersion*, because they lived antiently scattered up and down, without any settled Form of Government: And the Name of *Muscovy* is supposed to be derived from *Mesech*, the Son of *Japhet*; but this last seems to be a mere Conjecture built on a very slender Foundation. The *Muscovites* reckon the Creation of the World, which used to be their common *Aera*, to have been above 7200 Years ago, more than 1500 Years before the Time fixed by all other Christian Nations, without being able to give any Manner of Reason for thus differing from them. They used also to reckon the first Day of their Year the first of the Month *September*, and kept it with great Solemnity, till forced to do otherwise, as we shall see hereafter: Their Notion was, that it was more likely that God created the World with the Fruits of the Earth in full Maturity and Perfection than at a Time when the Face of Nature was covered over with Ice and Snow, without considering that what is Winter with them is Spring, or Autumn in some other Parts of the Globe. The longest Day in the South Part of *Muscovy* is fifteen Hours and a half; and in the North, it may be said, to be two Months, the Sun not setting in that Time when near the Summer Solstice.

The Air in these Climates, in the Winter Season, is so excessively cold, especially towards the North, that many feel its Effects, by the Loss of their Hands, Feet and Noses; and this Misfortune is the more inevitable, if they come too hastily near

a Fire, the Cause of which, as my Lord *Bacon* observes, is, "for that the few Spirits that remain in those Parts, are suddenly drawn forth, and so Putrefaction is completed: But Snow put upon the Part will prevent this, because it preserveth those Spirits that remain till they revive." In this Part of the Country Water sprinkled upwards with the Hand will freeze before it fall to the Ground; Birds, as they fly in the Air, will fall down and die; and Men, travelling in Sledges, come frozen to Death into the Cities and Towns; the Snow and Ice are on the Earth generally for nine Months of the Year; the Ice on the Rivers is above five Feet thick, and is not melted till some time after the Snow is gone: This cold Weather begins in *August* and continues till *May*, during which Time every Body is wrapt up in Furs. The Land is very barren except on the South-West Side near *Poland*, where they have several Sorts of Grain in great Plenty, and from the extreme Heat of the Summer, immediately following the Cold, they have their Harvest in about two Months after their Land is ploughed, sowing in *May* and reaping in *July*: The Soil needs no Dung, the Snow supplying the Place of that, and all other Manure. They have some very good Fruits, especially Melons. I cannot forbear taking Notice in this Place, of a most extraordinary Plant, which is mentioned by several Authors, and said to be found near *Samara*, *Astracan* and *Casan*, it grows in the Shape of a Lamb; they affirm, that the Grass withers near it, as if eaten by it, that when it is ripe the Stump grows dry, and the Fruit is covered with a certain hairy Skin, resembling Wool, which, being prepared, makes a good Fur-Lining; the Wolves devour it, because it is like a Lamb, therefore the *Muscovites* name it *Bonnaretz*, that is, little Lamb, and others *Zoophyton*, or *Animal Plant*. *Julius Scaliger*, mentioning this Plant, * says, the Fruit grows

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till

* *Exerc.* 181.

till the Grass fails it, and that it dies not but for Want of Nourishment. He adds that no Beast will feed on it, but the Wolf, and that it is used as a Bait to take him.

As to other Fruits, M. *Cornelius Le Bruyn*, in one Part of his Travels, speaks of a kind of Gooseberry, with which the Woods about *Moscow* are full, it is called *Costenitsa*, and is of a very pleasant acid Taste, they are eaten with Honey, or Sugar like Strawberries; there is also another Sort of them, called *Brusnitsa*, larger than the other, great Quantities of which are carried every Year to *Moscow*, where the *Russians* put them into Tubs and Casks of Water, all the Summer, and then draw a Liquor from them, which is very refreshing and pleasant, especially when sweetened with Honey and Sugar. The same Author, in another Place, speaks of an extraordinary Sort of Turnips, of various Colours, and surprizing Beauty, these he found among the *Samoïeds*, some were of a purple Colour, some grey and white, and some yellowish striked with a red like Vermillion, and more pleasant to the Sight than a Carnation.

The Country in general abounds with Forests, Marshes, Lakes, Pools, and Defarts; but these afford great Plenty of Wild Fowl, Fish, and Furs of Wild Beasts for Cloathing. There is, in this Country, a most prodigious Plenty of Wild Game, and the *Russians* have particularly one Sort of Hares, in great Numbers, which have something very wonderful in their Nature, and that is, that every Winter they turn as white as the Snow on the Ground, and in the Spring become of the same Colour with our Hairs in *England*. Near *Petzora*, a Province in the Northern Part of *Muscovy*, they take a Fish, called *Morfa*, with the Teeth of which they make Handles of Knives and Scymiters. Some of the Lakes in this Country, which are chiefly occasioned by the melted Snows, are above Fifty Leagues long; those of *Ladoga* and *Onega*, near *Finland*, are two of the largest in *Europe*. The numerous Swarms
of



*To His Royal Highness of DUKE
This PLATE is most humbly Dedicated.*



T. Spenselove sculp.

of Gnats and Flies, produced by the intense Heat of the Sun on these Pools and standing Waters, make the Summer Season, in *Muscovy*, almost as troublesome to Travellers as the Winter. The chief Towns in this vast Empire are, *Moscow*, *Petersburgh*, *Wolodimer*, *Novogorod*, *Smolensko*, *Casan*, *Bulgar*, *Astracan*, *Wologda*, *Pleskow*, *Resan*, *Jereslaw*, *Pereslaw*, *Arch-Angel*, and *St. Nicholas*.

Moscow, which was the principal City of *Muscovy*, till the late Czar, PETER I. built *Petersburgh*, communicates its Name to the whole Country, and is situated in 55 Degrees 30 Minutes of North Latitude, on a gravelly Soil, and in a wholesome Air, almost in the Centre of the best Part of *Russia*, on a River of the same Name, that falls into the *Occa*, it is divided into four Parts, named *Cataigorod*, where the Czar's Palaces stand; *Czargorod*, *Skerodum* and *Strelitza Slaboda*: The last so called because in that Part were formerly the Quarters of the *Strelitzes*, who, when in being, were established Forces, or Guards, like the *Fanizaries* among the *Turks*, of which there were always wont to be about 20,000 quartered in *Moscow*, for the Czar's Guard. These four Parts are separated and encompassed by three Walls, besides that of the Imperial Palaces; the first of red Bricks; the second is white; and the third of Earth, supported on each Side by Planks and Beams of Fir, which altho' 15 or 16 Miles in Circumference, is said to have been raised in four Days, on a Report of the Approach of the *Cham* of *Crim Tartary*, and for this Reason has the Name of *Skerodum*, which, in the *Russian* Language, signifies, *done in a hurry*. The City of *Moscow* was founded in the Year 1334, and once consisted of 40,000 Houses, but was taken, and almost burnt down by the *Tartars* in 1572; the *Polanders* took it also in 1611, it was again burnt in 1668, and suffered greatly by Fire in 1699, 1701 and 1707. * But

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* Since this was written, viz. on the 29th of May, 1737,

it lost the most Inhabitants by the great Numbers whom the Czar PETER obliged to reside at the new City of *Petersburgh* when he built it. As the City now stands, from the vast Number of Churches, with Cupola's, Steeples, and Crosses gilt and variously painted at Top, and the Gentlemens Houses, every Person of Distinction having a Garden and Court-Yard belonging to his House, altho' in the Heart of the Town, it has the Appearance, at a Distance, of one of the finest and most beautiful Cities in the World, but does by no Means answer the Traveller's Expectation when he comes within it, the Houses being for the most Part very meanly built of Wood; the *Boyars* (by which Name the *Muscovite* Noblemen are called) and a few Persons of Condition, have indeed some handsome Houses of Stone; but the Streets, instead of Stone Pavement, are laid with Fir Timber, and the Walls and Fences between the Streets and Houses are likewise of Wood. These wooden Houses are moveable, and sold ready made; and indeed, from the many Fires that happen among them, often owing to their great Drunkenness, the reigning Vice of the *Muscovites*, and their Negligence in putting out the many lighted Tapers, which they stick about among the Pictures of the Saints in their Chambers, not only here, but in every other Town in *Russia*, they have too frequent Occasions to go to Market. A certain *French* Author, in his Account of *Muscovy*, says, that when he was at *Moscow*, in the Year 1688, there were three Thousand Houses burnt, but they were, in his Opinion, little better than the Hogsties in *France*. Our Countryman, Captain Perry, says, "it is common in *Moscow*, when a Fire be-

gins,

1737, another Fire happened which consumed half the City. But if we may believe the Accounts given in our publick Prints, there has been a Plan presented to, and approved by her present Majesty the Empress of *Russia*, for rebuilding it with greater Magnificence than ever.

gins, especially in the Summer Season, when every Thing is dry and ready to kindle, to have a Fire spread on all Sides, and burn on so furious, that there is no standing before it; and in this Extremity, it is the Way of the *Russes*, in hopes to put a Stop to it, to pull down the Houses and Fences that are made of Wood, tho' they often have not Time to carry them off, but as they lie together with the Wood with which the Streets are lined, give a Train to the Fire, so that he has known it, in less than half a Day's Time, when there has been a Gale of Wind, burn above a *Russ* Mile in length, and destroy many thousand Houses before it has been quenched, and often without giving the Inhabitants Opportunity to carry off the tenth Part of their Goods. This, continues he, has often brought many People to the last Degree of Poverty, when all that they have had has been burnt, and it is one great Cause that the Houses appear so poor in *Moscow*, when they cannot raise Money to build them better, and by Reason of their being very often, as soon as they are built up, burnt down again to the Ground.

There are at least 1500 Churches and Monasteries in and about *Moscow*, above forty of which are within the Wall that encompasses the two Imperial Palaces, for there are two, one of Stone for the Summer, and one of Wood for Winter; besides the Palace which was formerly the Residence of the Patriarch, before that high Office was abolished, several Houses of the chief Lords of the Court; the *Precauses*, or Courts of Justice; the publick Offices of the State; and in the midst of a great Court, surrounded with Buildings, is a lofty Tower called *Iwan Welike* or *Great John*, in which is the monstrous Bell, still remaining where it fell, in the Fire in the Year 1701. It is reported to be the biggest in the World, weighing 336,000 Pounds, is 19 Feet high, 23 in Diameter, 64 in Circumference, and two in Thickness. It could not be raised by less than an hundred Men, and that used to be only on extraordinary Occasions.

as when the Czars, in old Time, thought fit to shew themselves to their People, whose Ignorance made them imagine, that the Presence alone of their Sovereign caused that Agitation they felt in their Bodies, which was the mere Effect of the Motion the Air was put into by this Bell. It is no uncommon Thing in History to meet with Princes whose vain-glorious Pride has carried them into the extravagant Folly of endeavouring to pass upon their Subjects for something more than Men; nay, even some who have been a Disgrace to the human Species: Nor indeed have many of the Tyrants of the North done Honour to it, till the Time of *PETER the Great*. This Bell used also to be struck upon formerly when the Czar went to Bed to the *Great Dutcheſs*, to warn the People to pray for the Conception of a Prince, for they made but little Account of a Daughter.

But to finish the Description of *Moscow*, the great Church of *Saboor* is 96 Feet in length, the Dome is supported by four large Pillars, and here they shew a Picture pretended to be painted by *St. Luke*, and also Christ's Garment upon which the Soldiers cast Lots, concerning which they relate several idle Miracles. It would be endless to describe every Church, among which one was looked upon as so magnificent a Structure by *John Basilowitz*, the Tyrant, that he ordered the Eyes of the Architect, who built it, to be put out, that he might never contrive such another. If the City of *Moscow* has in it a surprising number of Churches, it abounds no less in Brandy-shops, there being at least 4000 *Cabacs*, or Houses where that, with Wine and other strong Liquors are sold.

As to the Religion, Customs, Manners and Trade of the *Muscovites*; I shall mention them hereafter, when I come to speak of the great Reformation made in those and all other Matters in the *Russian Empire*.

The History of this extensive Country, which was a great Part of the antient *Sarmatia Europea*, and *Sarmatia Asiatica*, is so clouded with fabulous
Re-

Relations, and so deeply buried under the Ruins of Antiquity, and the profound Ignorance of its People, in Times past, who scarce held any Commerce with the other Parts of the World, nay, were forbidden, on Pain of Death, to go out of their own Country or even converse with Foreigners, without leave of their Prince or Patriarch, that it is almost impossible to arrive at any Certainty with regard to the antient State of it. Let it suffice, that they were formerly under the Government of several distinct Princes, as the Kings of *Asfracan*, *Casan*, *Siberia*, &c. and many petty Dukes, till reduced to the Obedience of one Monarch, at first stiled the *Great Duke*, afterwards *Czar*, and then *Emperor*.

Not being to write the History of the Country, but of one great Prince only, I shall go no farther back for an Account of the present Imperial Family of *Muscovy*, named *Romanoff*, than to the Grandfather of the *Czar Peter I.* and Great Grandfather of her present Czarian Majesty. His Name was *Michael Feodorowitz* (or *Theodorowitz*.) *Romanoff*, being the Son of *Feodore* (or *Theodore*) *Nikititz Romanoff*, Patriarch of *Muscovy*, who was married to a near Relation of *John Basilowitz* the Tyrant, by whom he had this Son proclaimed *Czar*, in the year 1613, who reigned 32 Years, and dying Anno 1645, was succeeded by his Son *Alexis Michaelowitz*, Father to the Prince, whose Life I have undertaken to give the Publick, seeing it has been so long, but vainly expected from the Pens of others, who might have been more equal to the Task.

Peter the Great was born on the 11th of June 1672, of *Natalia Carilowna Naraskin*, second Wife to the aforesaid *Alexis Michaelowitz*, who a little before his Death, which was when *Peter* had scarce arrived at five Years of Age, declared General *Menesius*, a Scotch-man, his Governor, a Person well qualified for that Employment, being thoroughly acquainted with all the Affairs of *Europe*, and speaking perfectly well all the *European Languages*;

but the Commotions raised, a few Years after, by the Princess *Sophia*, who not being able to make *Menefius* abandon the Interest of this her half-Brother *Peter*, forced him to retire, and that Prince was thereby deprived of the Benefit he might have received from so able a Preceptor: Yet we shall see, in the Course of these Sheets, that from the Strength of his own natural Genius, unassisted by Letters, or any of those artificial Accomplishments which other Princes acquire by Education, he was able to surpass them all; to conquer foreign Countries, and, what is still greater, to new form his own, and, unpolish'd as he was at first himself, to polish others, that were but one Degree removed from Savages.

M. Fontenelle tells us, "that the Inclination of this young Prince to Military Exercises began to shew itself very early; he was pleased, in his Infancy, with beating the Drum, and what was much observed, he would not amuse himself as a Child, with a vain Noise, but to learn one of the Functions of a Soldier, it was that which he endeavoured to render familiar to him, which he did effectually, in so much as sometimes to give Lessons to others.

Alexis Michaelowitz left at his Death, Anno 1676, two Sons, *Theodore* and *John*, and four Daughters, viz. *Sophia*, before-mentioned, *Catherine*, *Mary*, and *Sediaffa*, by his first Wife; and one Son and one Daughter, viz. *Peter* and *Natalia Alexowna*, by a second Venter. *Theodore*, his eldest Son, succeeded him; but he being of a very weak Constitution, and soon falling into great Disorders in his Body, every one believ'd his Reign and his Life would have but a short Period. The Princess *Sophia*, a Lady of a Masculine Spirit and great Penetration, foreseeing this, contrived Means how to get out of the Convent in which she was placed, notwithstanding the settled Custom, at that Time, which obliged the Female Issue of the Czarian House to pass their Lives unmarried in Confinement. To obtain her ends,

ends, she pretended a more than ordinary Affection for her Brother, and complained vehemently of her Unhappiness, in being restrained from visiting a Person whom she lov'd so tenderly, and of not having the Liberty to attend him in his Sickness: When he was in the Fits of his Distemper, she sent every Moment to enquire how he did; and let no Occasion slip of testifying her Love for him, and the great Grief she felt in being obliged to be absent from him.

By these Methods, at length, having prepared the Way for what she designed, she left her Convent under pretence of serving her Brother, and administering to him in his Sickness, which she did constantly with great Assiduity, and seeming Tenderness, suffering no one to come near him, or give him any Medicines but herself; for she wisely considered the more she did for him, the more she should gain the Esteem not only of the Czar himself, but of every Body about him.

Thus she insinuated herself into the good Opinion of the Grandees, whom she treated in a most obliging Manner; and won the Hearts of the People by her affable Behaviour, studying to make her Conduct approved, and excuse her leaving the Convent. It might be supposed she would have contented herself with her Liberty, but, being resolv'd never more to return to Confinement, she concluded the best Way would be to make herself absolute Mistress, which Design not being to be carried on without a considerable Number of Friends to support her Interest and Authority, she pitched upon Prince *Basil Basilericwick Galliczin*, as the fittest Person to be the Chief of her Party.

Prince *Galliczin* was a Man of great Quality, descended from the last Duke of *Lithuania* of the House of *Jagelon*: The Courtiers at first seemed well enough pleased with her Choice, imagining that he would only have the Name of Chief Minister, but share the Power with them; but this Prince, who was as artful as his Protectress, and
had

had more Cunning than half the Nobility of *Muscovy* put together, found Ways to manage all Affairs as he pleased, during the Reign of *Theodore*, who dying suddenly, in the 22d Year of his Age, *Anno* 1682, and leaving no Issue behind him, named *Peter*, his youngest Brother, tho' by a different Mother, his Successor to the Throne, thinking his Brother *John*, who was greatly afflicted with the Falling Sickness, and other Infirmities, unfit for Government. *Peter*, then not above ten Years of Age, was accordingly proclaimed Czar. The Princess *Sophia*, who had been allowed a large Share in the Regency, a little before the Death of her Brother *Theodore*, could not be well pleased to see her other Brother, by the same Father and Mother, thus excluded the Throne; which she look'd upon as his Right; and having engaged *Couvanski**, the President, or General of the *Strelitzes*, and many others of the *Boyars* and Clergy to her Side, resolved to set the Crown upon the Head of her Brother *John*.

The more easily to accomplish her Design, and bring the People into her Measures, a Report was industriously spread, that the Czar *Theodore* had been poisoned by the Physicians at the Instigation of some chief Men at the Helm, whose Names were whisper'd about; and, the more strongly to exasperate the *Strelitzes*, she caused a Rumour likewise to go about, that a Design had been formed at Court, to have mixed Poison with the Brandy and Beer that was to have been given them at the Czar *Theodore's* Funeral, if she had not prevented it. *Couvanski*, the General, and many of the principal Officers, commonly younger Sons of the greatest Families in *Russia*, being before thoroughly engag'd in the Design, and the common Men thus incensed, against the Courtiers, they soon took an Opportunity

* *An Officer somewhat like the Aga of the Janissaries, among the Turks, or the Prefect of the Prætorian Band under the Roman Emperors.*

nity to give Vent to their Fury : Beginning first with the Murder of the two Physicians, who administered Physick to the deceased Czar ; they cut in Pieces several of the chief Officers of the Crown, who were marked out to them for Destruction, and threw others over a Ballustrade, on the Top of the Imperial Palace, upon the Soldiers Pikes, which they held upright on purpose to receive them : And, in this Savage Manner, they continued their Outrages for several Days, till the People, to put a Stop to their Rage, and Barbarity, proclaimed *John Czar*, in Conjunction with his Brother *Peter Alexowitz*.

1683. The Princess *Sophia* having now gained her Ends, and, both the Czars being very young, got the Administration of the Government into her own Hands, it was hoped that all Troubles would cease ; but the Boyar *Couvanski* continued to let loose his *Strelitzes* to murder and plunder all that were not of his Party in *Moscow*, from whence the Imperial Family were retired, for their Safety, into the *Troitsky*, or *Trinity Monastery*, * about 60 *Russ Miles* from the City, and whither Prince *Borice Galliczin*, a Relation of the afore-mentioned Prince *Galliczin*, had before carried the Czar *Peter*, to secure him till the Tumult was over. Princess *Sophia*, having Intelligence here of all that passed in the City, in hopes of soothing this Madman *Couvanski*, sent her Compliments to him with Thanks for the Zeal he had shewn in revenging the Death of her Brother : But this had a quite different Effect from what she expected, for *Couvanski*, after all he had done, ravaging, plundering, and even massacring the most considerable *Boyars* with Impunity,

or

* In this spacious Building which has three large Gates in the Front ; and the Church standing in the Middle of a Square ; the Czars have fine Apartments. The Abbot is so rich that he has sixty thousand Peasants dependant upon him, besides Masses, from whence great Profits are derived.

or even without a Check to his inhumane Proceedings, and then receiving this Submission, as he interpreted it to be, from the Princess, he imagined there was nothing that he might not attempt, even seizing on the Crown itself. He concluded, and perhaps he judged right, considering the Nature and Inclinations of this sort of People, that the *Strelitzes* were at his Devotion to a Man, and ready to yield an implicit Obedience to whatever Commands he should give them, some out of Gratitude for his having indulg'd them so long in plundering the City, and others in hopes of making their Fortunes by a Revolution. He likewise endeavoured to raise in them a Contempt for both the Czars, for *John* on Account of his Infirmities, and for *Peter* on Account of his Youth, who, he said, in all likelihood, as he grew up, might be subject to his Brother's Distempers; and therefore there was no Prospect of seeing a Prince on the Throne, who would have any Merit or Courage of his own, and consequently not know how to encourage or reward them in others. He determined, in short, to push his Fortunes, and thinking he should be the better able to accomplish his Designs, if he could make an Alliance with the *Czarian* Family, he proposed a Marriage between his Son and the Princess *Catharine*, younger Sister to the Princess *Sophia*; but this was look'd upon as the Height of Insolence and Presumption. The Princess *Sophia* knew very well that such an Alliance would not only endanger the Safety of the young Czars, but that her own Authority had more to fear from the Ambition of *Couwanski* than from any of those *Boyards* and great Men she had already caused to be murder'd, she therefore thought it high Time he should be dispatch'd, and resolv'd to have him punish'd for all his Crimes at once, even those which she had consented to herself. The more easily to get him within her Power, the Court came to a Resolution of celebrating, in the *Troitsky* Monastery, the Feast of St. *Catharine*, whose Name the Princess bore whom *Couwanski*

ski had cast his Eyes upon for the Consort of his Son, and by whom he flatter'd himself with vain Hopes of fixing the Imperial Crown of *Russia* upon his own Family.

The Princess *Sophia* ordered Notice to be given every where of the intended Feast, and all the *Boyars* to be invited to Court, particularly the *Boyar Couvanski*, who yet continued his Cruelties at *Moscow*, which the Princess very artfully seemed to approve of. In the mean Time she and her Favourite Prince *Galliczin* had laid a Plot to rid themselves of this bold Aspirer to the Throne, and no Time was lost in putting it in Execution; for two hundred Horsemen were immediately order'd to way-lay him in the Road to the *Troitsky* Monastery, who seized on him according to their Instructions, and carried him into a House, that was at hand, where his Sentence was read to him, without any manner of Examination, or Delay, and both his own and his Son's Heads taken off at the same Instant.

When the *Strelitzes* first heard of this, they were all struck Speechless with Astonishment, but soon recovering out of their Surprize, they grew enraged and furious, running up and down, and in every Place exclaiming against the Government, who had deprived them of their Chief, and Father, as they were pleas'd to call him: They protested solemnly and unanimously, that they would take Vengeance on his Murderers, and all their Adherents, of what Degree or Quality soever. They instantly possessed themselves of the Arsenals and Ammunition, and seem'd to threaten a general Destruction. The Court perceiving the Danger the State was in, rais'd the other Forces, who always bore an implacable hatred to the *Strelitzes*, and commanded all the *German* Officers to repair immediately to the *Troitsky* Monastery. Every one readily obey'd his Orders, leaving their Wives and Children, to serve their Princes; nor was any Man deterr'd from doing his Duty, notwithstanding they

they had great Reason to fear, their Families would be ill used by the *Strelitzes*, for their giving this Proof of their Loyalty. The *Germans* dwelt in the Suburbs of *Moscow*, whither the *Strelitzes* immediately ran, in their Fury, resolving to butcher all they met with; but were restrained by some of the oldest among them, who, very prudently, represented to them, that if they should put the *Germans* Wives to the Sword, their Husbands, as soon as they had drawn their Troops together, would think of nothing but Revenge. The *German* Officers, notwithstanding they were, for the most Part, raised from private Centinels, were by much the better Soldiers; for the *Strelitzes*, tho' at all Times ripe for Civil Disorders, were but a rude undisciplin'd Mob, and little able to stand against any regular Force; and their Hearts now sinking, seeing themselves without a Leader, they began to make Offers to obtain Peace, which they found the Court readily disposed to grant, having little Inclination to go into a new Broil. So the *Strelitzes*, first killing their

1684 Colonels and other Officers, sent Messengers to Court to implore for Pardon, which they obtained without any great Difficulty. The Czars came immediately to *Moscow*, accompanied by the Nobility and *German* Officers: And the *Strelitzes* meeting them, prostrated themselves upon the Ground, and begg'd for Mercy: The Czars making a Sign that they forgave them, the Penitent Soldiers, raising themselves up, conducted them to their Palace, pouring forth Tears of Joy, to see their Sovereigns returned to their Capital in so mild a Disposition.

The same Day Prince *Basil Basilerwick Galliczin* was created Grand Chancellor, and *Wrenimienk*, or Temporary Minister of State; that is, Administrator of the Empire during a limited Time; in which Post never any Man in that Country, before him, governed with so great Authority. He was, without Dispute, one of the ablest, and most polite Men in *Muscovy*, which he nobly designed should make as good a Figure as the rest of *Europe*. He

understood the *Latin* Tongue well, and was pleased with the Company of Foreigners, as he was at all Times agreeable to them, being the only Man of Quality who would entertain, without forcing his Company to drink to Excess: Brandy, the Liquor which flowed at every other Table, was seldom seen at his, who never drank any himself, but took much Delight in rational and ingenious Conversation.

He had little value for insignificant Men of great Birth, regarding only Merit, and preferred none but those he thought worthy of the Posts they were to fill, and such as he believed would be faithful to him, bestowing thus most of the principal Offices of State without consulting the Interests of particular great Families, he drew on himself the Hatred of many; but that did not hinder him from exerting his Authority, and ordering every Thing for his own Advantage and that of his Country, which by his prudent Administration, began to make a Figure among other Nations. He advised, at this Time, a general Peace with *Sweden*, whose Ambassadors being present at *Moscow*, had all their Demands granted. Some Time after the Conclusion of this Treaty, the *Imperialists* and *Poles* being engaged in a War with the *Turks*, the first endeavoured to get the *Muscovites* to make a League with them, but their Embassy came to nothing. The *Poles* took Occasion to propose a general Peace, at the same Time, and to get the *Muscovites* on their Side, to which end they sent an Embassy to *Moscow*, where, after divers Conferences, they came to an Accommodation; the *Poles* gave up their Pretensions to the *Ukrain*, the Dutchy of *Smolensko*, and other Territories conquered by the *Muscovites*, and the *Czars* obliged themselves to make War upon the *Precoops*, and oppose their IncurSIONS into *Poland*.

1686. The *Muscovites*, upon this, sent Ambassadors to all the Courts of *Christendom*, to animate them to a general League against the *Turks*; and they themselves prepared to take the Field, and enter the *Crim*. Prince *Galiczin* named several Lords, as fit
for

for the Command of General in this Expedition ; but was told on all Hands, that no one could be so capable to undertake it as himself. This was an Honour he would very willingly have been excused from accepting of, judiciously supposing that he should find great Difficulties in the Enterprize, and that all the ill Success would be laid at his Door, notwithstanding he took the utmost Precaution imaginable ; and knowing that the Army he was to command, tho' formidable in Numbers, yet was only a Multitude of raw and undisciplin'd Peasants, with whom he could never undertake any daring Action to come off with Honour. The Prince too, being a greater Statesman than Soldier, foresaw that his Absence might be more prejudicial than the Conquest of the *Crim* could be of Advantage or Glory to him, especially as his commanding the Army could not raise him higher, or give him more Sway in the Government : He saw besides, that those who insisted most on his taking this Charge, did it only out of Jealousy, and on purpose to ruin him, under the specious Pretence of honouring him with the Title of *Generalissimo*, to which Post he was preferr'd by the Votes of a Majority of the *Boyars*.

The *Crim* is a very fruitful Country, almost an Island, encompassed partly by the Waters of the *Euxine*, or *Black Sea*, and partly by those of the *Palus Mæotis*. The *Tartars* of this Country, who are likewise possessed of a fine Tract of Land more toward the North, and Westward toward the *Nieper*, have for many Ages been in strict Alliance with, or rather under the Dominion of, the Grand Signior, and tho' the *Cham* has the Title of Emperor among his own Subjects, yet is he little better than a Slave to the *Ottoman Porte* ; but as much as they are Vassals themselves, they had formerly subdued the *Muscovites*, so far as to oblige them to pay an annual Tribute to them, and had inserted in the Articles of Peace these disgraceful Terms, That they should hold the Stirrups of their *Cham*, and feed his Horse with Oats out of his Cap, if they should chance at any Time to meet.

The

The *Muscovites* determining to send a numerous Army into this Country, and having provided Generals for all the Forces of *White-Russia*, and the *Cossacks* with their *Hettman*; the next Consideration was how to raise Provisions and Ammunition for them; to which End, every House in this vast Empire was taxed at a *Rouble** each, which amounted to an immense Sum. Prince *Galliczin*, having obtained the Favour of the Princess of 1687. making his Son Collegue with him in the Chancellorship, set out to join the Army.

The general Rendezvous was appointed in the *Ukrain*, in the Country of those *Cossacks* who are independent of the *Hettman*, and were commanded by *Polkowniks* or Colonels. The Forces of *Moscow* were quartered at *Arteek*; those of *Novogorod* at *Auski*; those of *Casan* at *Rouplauski*; those of *Serene* at *Kraftenakoust*; and those of *Belgorod*, who were to remain on the Frontiers, were posted at *Belgorod*. The *Hettman* drew together his Troops at *Cartlich*, and, on the first of *May* 1687, they mustered, and took the Field with an Army of 300,000 Foot, and 100,000 Horse, with which having no Success, and not being able to pass farther than *Kerchekefa*, on account of a Drought, which was so great that for 50 Leagues round they were informed the Sun had burnt up the Grass, so that there was no Possibility of proceeding for want of Forage, they returned to the River *Samare*, and from thence to the *Marle*, where they waited for Orders from *Moscow* to disband their Army: But Prince *Galliczin*, to excuse himself, threw all the Blame of this Miscarriage upon the *Hettman*, *Juan Samuelerrick*, and accordingly wrote to Court for Orders to depose him, and chuse another in his Place. The Order being come, *Galliczin* caused the *Hettman* to be seized at Midnight, by those very *Strelitzes* which he had desired

* *A Rouble is 100 Russ Copecks, worth about a Halfpenny English each.*

desired for his Guard, being distrustful of the *Cossacks*: He was carried bound in Cords to a Place within the main Body of the Army, called *Chatra*, that is to say, the Tent of Justice, which in all the *Russian* Armies is constantly pitched in the General's Quarters. In the Morning Prince *Galliczin* summoned all the Officers and Noblemen to attend him. The *Boyar* Generals took their Seats, and the unfortunate *Hettman* was brought before them; the Emperor's Order was first read to him, then they confronted him with the principal *Cossacks*, who were taught their Lessons, and accused him of holding Intelligence with the *Cham*, and directing him privately to burn up all the Forage. The poor General found his Fortune quickly changed, and he, who had been the Day before among the Rank of Princes, instead of *Vielmozny*, or most Puissant, was now saluted by the Name of *Scourwecin*, or Son of a Whore; nay, his own Servants lost all Respect to him, and one of his Colonels named *Dimitrouki*, drew out his Sabre to kill him; but *Galliczin* prevented the Blow, and told him, the *Hettman* was brought there to be tried judicially, and not to be butchered. This Council of War being broke up, and the *Hettman* put under a strong Guard, a Courier was dispatched to *Levanti Romanorrick*, General of the Forces of the *Serene*, with Orders to secure the *Hettman's* Son, who had been sent thither some Time before with a Detachment of Men; but some faithful *Cossacks* got to him Time enough, to give him Notice to save himself. *Romanorrick* could not easily come at him, for he kept with his Troops perpetually as far off as he could; but the principal *Cossacks* being acquainted with the Order to seize their Leader, the *Compachiks*, or Cavalry, agreed to deliver him up; the *Sardouchiks*, or Infantry, encompassed his Tent, and would not permit him to be taken at first; but they suffered themselves to be prevailed on at Length, and so with a general Consent the *Hettman's* Son was put into *Romanorrick's* Hand, who, being pleased with

with this Opportunity of repairing his Credit, which he had very much hurt in a late Skirmish with *Sultan Naradin* near *Kamiston* upon the *Nieper*, returned with his Prisoner to the Army.

While they were thus making sure of the Son, the *Boyar General* consulted how to punish the Father, and set up another *Hettman*. *Samuelerrick* was sent into *Siberia*, and the *Cossacks* chose one *Mazeppa*, *Pistazy* or Secretary of State, and proclaimed him *Hettman*: Of this *Mazeppa*, *Monsieur de Voltaire*, in his *Life of Charles XII. of Sweden*, gives the following Account: "He was a *Polish Gentleman*, born in the *Palatinate of Podolia*, and had been brought up as one of the Pages of the King (*John Casimir*) in whose Court he had got some Taste of the *Belles Lettres*; but having, in his Youth, an Intrigue with the Wife of a *Polish Gentleman*, and being discovered, the Husband caused him to be severely scourged, and afterwards tied naked on a wild, ungovernable Horse, which was turned loose to go wheresoever it would. The Horse being brought out of the *Ukrain*, returned thither, and carried *Mazeppa* with him, half dead with Fatigue and Hunger. Some Countrymen gave him Succour, with whom he continued a long Time, and signalized himself on many Occasions against the *Tartars*. The Superiority of his Understanding made him much regarded among the *Cossacks*; and his Reputation increasing daily obliged the *Czar* to make him Prince of *Ukrania*.

Altho' Prince *Galliczin* thus succeeded in his Design, yet a great Party of *Cossacks*, who were not invited to the Election, expressed their Dislike of it; some Towns revolted, and some of the Colonels Houses were pillaged in their Absence: The new *Hettman*, being willing to quell these Disorders, desired some Troops of Prince *Galliczin*, who ordered three Thousand Foot of the Forces of *Smolensko*, and a Thousand Horse to attend him to *Baturin*, the usual Residence of the *Hettmans*.

Their

Their Czarian Majesties Order to disband the Army soon arriving, with a Letter, it was read in the Presence of all the Officers, who, after having done nothing, were very well pleased, tho' some of them almost ashamed, to hear themselves thanked for their good Services. Every General had a Gold Medal given him, with the two Czars Effigies on one Side, and the Princess on the other, fastened to a Chain of Gold, the whole worth about ten Ducats; every Colonel had a Medal without a Chain worth a Ducat; every Lieutenant-Colonel and Major, one of half a Ducat, and every Soldier and *Strelitz* had a Copeck of Gold, of about twenty-five Pence Value. Prince *Galliczin*, by Means of these Presents, which he obtained from the Czars, or rather from the Princess, appeased the Murmurs that were raised throughout the Army against him. He likewise gained the chief Nobility, by bestowing Employments upon them that reimbursed their Expences; in so much that at his Arrival at *Moscow*, he found very few against him; he was received by the Princess with all the Marks of Favour he could wish, and took the Management of the State upon him, with as much Authority as ever.

1688. In the mean Time the Friends and Relations of the Czar *Peter*, being apprehensive of the Designs of the Princess and this great Favourite, were concerting Measures how to counterplot them; but finding they wanted sufficient Power, they engaged on their Side another Prince *Galliczin*, Cousin to this, but who was despised by him for his Drunkenness and Debauchery, and so managed Matters that in a short Time they made him the young Czar's Favourite. This was that Prince *Borice Galliczin*, who first carried *Peter* to the *Troitsky* Monastery, in the Time of *Covvanski's* Rebellion, and who, for that Reason perhaps, was the more readily received into his Favour. When they had accomplished this, the next Business was, under Pretence of doing Honour to the great *Galliczin*,
to

to endeavour to oblige him to take upon him the Command of the Army a second Time; but he perceiving that *Peter's* Party gathered Strength every Day, and thinking it might still increafe by his Absence, used all the Means he could, under-hand, to get the Command bestowed on some other: This he found impracticable, and so frankly offered himself, judging rightly, that it would be more to his Honour to propose it voluntarily than to stay till it should be forced upon him; and against the opening of this Campaign he took such Measures as he thought might make it more prosperous than the last. Having obtained whatever he pleased to demand, it was resolved the Army should take the Field sooner than they had done before, so all the Forces were ordered to be at their Place of Rendezvous on the first of *February* 1689. The Troops began to march from all Parts in *December*, except from *Siberia*, the People of which Province were excused from sending any Soldiers on Account of the War they maintained against their Neighbours, the Inhabitants of *Great Tartary*.

The Preparations for this Campaign were much greater than for the last, but the Taxes were no higher, which was only one *Rouble* for every House. The Troops were, for the most Part, commanded by the same Generals as in the Expedition in 1687. They did not lie long in their first Quarters, but were all ordered to march, before the Frost was broke, beyond the River *Marle*, which was prudently done, because, when the Thaw happens, great Inundations are always made by the several Rivers they were obliged to cross. The Foot encamped on the other Side the River at the Entrance of a Wood; the Cavalry was posted in the Towns situated on the Banks. Prince *Galliczin*, being arriv'd, pitched his Tent on the farthest Side of the River, on the first of *April*, the Generals did the same; and on the 6th they marched towards the *Samare*, where all the Forces joined.

The

The *Hettman Mazeppa* being come to the same Place, on the thirteenth they all passed the River without Delay, and, in a Month's Time, advanced as far as *Precop*. Every Soldier carrying with him four Months Provisions, their Baggage hindered them from making long Marches in a Day, which were likewise much retarded by their Artillery, consisting of 700 Pieces of Cannon, and many Mortars. In their Way thither, at *Kairka*, upon the *Borysphenes*, a Party having taken some *Tartars*, they learned that the *Cham* was not at *Precop*, but at *Bondgiac*, and had not the least Suspicion of so formidable an Army coming upon him. On *May* the 13th they had Word brought, by their Scouts, that the Enemy was at hand, upon which they put themselves in order to receive them; the Baggage, guarded by the Foot and the Artillery, marched on the Right, the Horse were posted on the Left of every Division. The Forces of *Moscow*, headed by Prince *Galliczin*, kept in the Middle, the Forces of *Novogorod* moved on the Right, the *Hettman* on the Left; and on the *Hettman's* Left was *Dolga Kourka* and *Cherremittau*, who commanded the Forces of *Belgorod*; and *Romanorrick* made up the Rear. The *Tartars* charged the Vanguard of *Schein*, from thence, after some Skirmishes, they wheeled on a sudden from Right to Left, and fell upon *Cherremittau's* Forces, who being over-powered, were quickly put to the Rout: The Horse fled, and the Enemy ran to the Baggage, which they had like to have carried off; but Prince *Galliczin* immediately sending Succours to *Cherremittau*, the *Tartars* were forced to retire, and leave the *Russians* a free Passage till they got to *Thorna d'Oliva*, where they encamped for the Convenience of Water, the Place being Marshy, and five Leagues distant from *Precop*. A small Body of *Tartars*, under Sultan *Garka*, advanced to discover their Enemies March; and, that they might learn wherein the Strength or Weakness of the Army lay, took several Prisoners, from whom they drew what Information they wanted.

They

They afterwards carried them to the *Cham*, who then lay encamped at *Kalanscheck*, a little River about two Leagues from *Precop*, which runs into the *Palus Mæotis*; for, an Account being brought him that the *Muscovites* had invaded the *Crim*, he was come from *Bondgiac*, with 4000 Horse, to defend his Territories. On the 16th the Army decamp'd, and moved to *Zelona Dolina*, a League from *Thorna*; higher came the *Cham*, to meet the *Muscovites*, with all his Forces, which amounted to thirty or forty Thousand Horse, marching in several little Divisions, and having insensibly surrounded the *Russians*, they were obliged to halt.

The two Armies gazed upon one another for some Time without attempting any Thing, tho' certainly the *Muscovites* ought to have began the Fight, but they were glad to keep themselves out of Harm, fenced in with strong Pallisadoes, which they had brought in their Waggon. The Foot and Artillery defended this Camp so strenuously, that the *Tartars* could not break into it. The Horse were not entrenched, which invited three or four Detachments of *Tartars*, of 1000 Horse each, to charge them: They were no sooner attacked but they fell into Disorder; however, they made their Baggage serviceable to them, for from thence the Cannon and small Shot galled the *Tartars*, and laid three or four hundred of them upon the Ground, and with them several *Muscovites*. On the other Side Sultan *Naradin*, with his Troops, charged the *Cossacks* of *Sont* and *Akrerko*, who were commanded by *Emilian*, the *Dominidiak*, or *Russian* Secretary of State; this Gentleman knew very little of the Art of War, and was so frightened that he could not stand before the *Tartars*, who breaking in among the Baggage, and killing the Horses, prevented the *Muscovites* from drawing off their Waggon; they pierced in as far as the Center of those Waggon, and carried off twenty Pieces of Cannon, which they found mounted upon Carriages, and Horses harnessed to them. In short, if the

Boyar Kourka had not advanced with his Troops, the *Cossacks* had been entirely cut off. *Cheremittau* was attacked at the same Time by another Body of *Tartars*, who broke in as far as his Baggage, but he defended himself much better than *Emilian*, and forced the *Tartars* to retire. In these Skirmishes the *Tartars* being repulsed, tho' the Advantage and some Plunder fell to them, the *Muscovites* moved forwards to get to some fresh Water; so the next Day they marched to *Kalanscheck*; the Cavalry were order'd to mix with the Waggon and Carriages, and all the Army, which till then had been divided, joined into one Body, and made a Square Figure, the Baggage was surrounded with the Cannon and Infantry, who carried their Pallisadoes upon their Shoulders to be the readier in planting them. The *Tartars* appeared again, while they were in this March; for having viewed the Army on all Sides, and finding the Horse had secured themselves, they forbore Action, and were content to keep the *Muscovites* in Fear of them; but they soon withdrew, and went to defend *Precop*, which they thought would be attempted by the numerous Army of the *Muscovites*, who that Day encamped at *Kalanscheck*, and the next passed the River, where finding no *Tartars*, several of them were encouraged to leave the Baggage, and ascend the Hill to discover *Precop*, which appeared to be all in Flames, for the *Tartars* had set Fire to the Suburbs lest the *Muscovites* should have taken Possession of them.

On the 16th they marched straight on to *Precop*, and sat down within Cannon Shot of the Town, having the *Black-Sea* on their Right, and the Desert on the Left: They made no Shot from the Town, because it was too far to do Execution, but they fired incessantly from a Tower that stood on the Shore of the *Black-Sea*. The *Muscovites* thought of attacking the Town in the Night, but were strangely surprized to receive Orders, in the Evening, to return; which was occasioned by a sudden

sudden Treaty set on Foot by the following Accident.

The Army being encamped pretty near the Town, the *Nogays* and *Calmuck Tartars*, Subjects of *Muscovy*, skirmishing often with the *Precopians*, a *Nogay*, who served the *Cham*, saw by Chance, a *Muscovite* of his Acquaintance, and calling out to him, What do we contend for, said he, there would be no Occasion to fight if your *Boyar* would make Peace with our *Cham*? The *Muscovite* replied, that if the *Boyar Galliczin* believed the *Cham* was that Way inclined, he might perhaps come into Measures with him: But if the *Cham* really desired Peace, he ought to send and treat about it. Well, said the *Precopian Nogay*, do you break the Matter to your General, and you may venture to assure him, that the *Cham* is willing to come to Terms. The *Muscovite* went immediately to Prince *Galliczin*'s Tent, and having procured an Audience from him, acquainted him with all that had happened, and all the Discourse that passed between him and the *Tartars*. The Prince, liking the Motion, caused a Letter to be wrote, in the Name of this *Muscovite* to the *Precopian Nogay*, to this Purpose: *I have related to the General, Prince Galliczin, what passed between us; he is content to come to an Accommodation; it lies upon you to get some Person to be sent to him with the Cham's Proposals.* This Letter being delivered to the first *Tartar* that appeared, was carried to the *Cham*, who having read it, sent to ask Prince *Galliczin* if it was wrote by his Order, and being answered that it was; he sent a principal Person, *Suilech Murza*, and the *Muscovites* sent a *Boyar*, named *Esmeyan*, in exchange for Hostages. In this Treaty, the *Muscovites* proposed the five following Conditions: That all the *Russian* Slaves should be restored. That the *Tartars* should make no more Inroads into the Czar's Dominions. That they should quit their Claim to 80,000 *Roubles*, annually due to them from *Muscovy*. That they should not molest the *Poles*, nor assist the *Turks*. The *Murza* gave some Hopes of an Agree-

ment, and spun out the Conference to keep them in Suspense till next Day, well knowing so great a Multitude could not long subsist where they were without Forage and Water : But the next Day he answered, that the *Cham* would accept of Peace, on no other Terms than those he was already engaged in with the Czars: That he insisted upon the Payment of the yearly Tribute, and expected to be paid 240,000 *Roubles*, that were in Arrear for the three last Years.

Prince *Galliczin* did by no Means like this Answer, he had lost the Opportunity of forcing them to his own Terms, for his Army were no longer able to lie encamped on the sandy Plain, and so he was forced to retreat ; but, for fear of being pursued, he took the *Murza* along with him as far as *Kalanscheck*, and from thence sent him back, and received his own Hostage. Thus ended Prince *Galliczin's* second Campaign in the *Grim*. It was said by some of his Enemies, that he was prevailed upon to leave the Country by a large Present of Ducats of Gold, and that the *Tartars* sent them to him in Barrels, but had defrauded him of a great Share of what was agreed upon, by putting a large Number of Counters among them.

After this they marched for three Weeks together to reach the *Samare* ; where leaving all the heavy Luggage behind them, they passed the River, and in six Days more got to the River *Marle*. In the mean while Prince *Galliczin* dispatched Couriers to the Czars, and to the King of *Poland*, boasting that he had beaten the *Tartars*, and driven them into their own Country. The Princess *Sophia*, upon this News, ordered publick Rejoicings throughout the Kingdom, and, according to Custom, sent an *Akalnik* with a Letter of Thanks and Commendations to all the Army, and golden Ducats for Rewards : In Conclusion, Orders for disbanding the Army being come, the Boyar *Valenski* was left at the River *Samare* with about 5 or 6000 Men. This mighty Success had the *Muscovites* in two great Expedi-

Expeditions in the *Grim*; which far from gaining them any Honour or Profit, on the contrary produced the greatest Damage, the Nation could, at that Time, have suffered, in the Ruin of their General, which happened soon after.

During the Absence of Prince *Galliczin*, the principal Persons in the Party that opposed him, had married the Czar *Peter*, who was then in the 18th Year of his Age, to a young Lady named *Ottokesa Federowna*, Daughter of the Boyar *Feoder Abrahamowitz*; this bold Stroke, which was entirely against the Inclinations of the Princess *Sophia*, greatly increased the Party of the Czar *Peter*; all the young Men, whose Fathers followed the Princess, declared for *Peter*. *Galliczin*, at his Return, found all his Measures broken, by the Marriage of the young Czar, whose Wife was soon after with Child. His Enemies had likewise learned the Truth of all that passed in his inglorious Expedition to the *Grim*, and had rendered him so odious to the Czar *Peter*, that he was denied Audience by him, and could hardly, by the Princess's Intercession, be admitted to kiss his Hand; he underwent severe Reproaches, and could not say any thing in Justification of his Conduct. This Affair had but just Time to subside, when the Princess began to raise fresh Uneasinesses, by proposing an unreasonable Piece of Liberality; she had a Mind to distribute considerable Presents among the *Boyars*, in Recompence of the good Services that they had done the Empire: But the Czars, *Peter* especially, opposed this, and would enquire first into the Merits of these pretended Services, that the Rewards might be proportionable to them. The Princess could bear no Restraint, but found Means to get the Czars to comply with her Desires. Upon which, she gave Prince *Galliczin* 1500 Peasants Houses in several Villages, to other Commanders in the Army 300, and to all the Officers in Proportion to their Stations. These valuable Presents were very unusual in *Muscovy*, the Custom of the Czars having been only to give a

royal Vest to those whom they had a Mind to do Honour to.

Prince *Galliczin* now began again to govern with the same Power as before, and being supported by the Princess, undertook a bold Adventure. From the Time that the *Hettmans* had been under the *Muscovite* Dominion, they had never entered *Moscow*. *Galliczin*, upon the Pretence of doing Honour to the *Hettman*, and presenting him to do Homage to the Czars, so ordered it, that *Mazeppa* was brought into the capital City, with 500 of his principal Officers, but was never admitted into the Czars Presence. The Design of introducing this Number of Men into *Moscow*, was to assist a Plot, that the Princess and *Galliczin* were then contriving together against the Life of *Peter*. The Princess foresaw that this Brother, if not timely prevented, would be one Day the Ruin of her Authority, and a Bar to all her ambitious Views. And she had likewise terrible Apprehensions that not only her Power would be abridged, but that she should be forced to return to her Convent; these Thoughts made her repent that she had listened to the moderate Counsels of *Galliczin*, and having persuaded him, that himself, his Family, and all his Friends, would be involved in her Ruin, she brought him to consent to put in Execution the cruel Scheme she had formed to secure herself and him, by the Death of her Brother.

All the Measures being taken that she thought proper, she was now resolved to give the Blow; and pitched upon *Theodore Thekelavitan* to be her principal Instrument in the Enterprize. He was President of the Chamber of *Strelitzes*, to which Dignity he had been raised, on the Death of *Courvanski*, by the Princess's Favour, and, in return, now promised a punctual Obedience to all her Commands. The Czar *Peter* was, at this Time, at one of his Country Houses, called *Obrogensko*, situated upon the River *Yarus*, a short League from *Moscow*. *Theodore* having drawn together 600 *Strelitzes*, all Men to be

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be relied on, as he thought, and putting himself at their Head, he commanded them to follow him to *Obrogensko*; but whilst he was giving Orders, two of the *Strelitzes*, shock'd at the Thoughts of staining their Hands with their Prince's Blood, stole off privately and ran with all Expedition to advertize the *Czar Peter* of the Danger he was in. He, jumping out of Bed in a great Consternation, sent for his Uncles, the *Naraskins*, his Mother's Brothers, and consulted with them in all Haste what was to be done. It was resolved to send immediately to the City to enquire into the Certainty of this Intelligence; one of the *Czars* Uncles, and the young Prince *Borice Galliczin*, the *Czar's* Favourite, were dispatch'd on this Business; in their Way thither they met *Thekelavitan* at the Head of his *Strelitzes*, they took care to conceal themselves while these Soldiers pass'd by them, and then hastened back to save the *Czar*. *Peter* had but just time enough to get into his Coach with his Mother, his Wife, and her Sister; and being followed by some of his faithful Servants, he fled towards the *Troisky* Monastery.

The Conspirators, on their Arrival, searched every where for the *Czar*, but the *Strelitzes*, then on Duty at *Obrogensko*, knowing nothing of the Design, and surprized at his sudden Departure, told their President that his Majesty was gone out a little before with all the Speed imaginable.

This Disappointment was no small Concern to the Princess, every Body was astonished, at *Moscow*, with the News of the *Czar's* Flight, no one could guess the Cause of it; but in the Evening it was known that he had sent to the Princess to reproach her with her Treachery. She absolutely deny'd the Matter, and protested that they were much deceiv'd in taking those for Conspirators, who came only to relieve the Guard; and that she was extremely wronged to be thought capable of harbouring so black a Crime in her Breast, as that of being accessary to the Death of her Brother. In the mean Time this

Excuse of pretending to relieve the Guard, which was always done in the Day Time, was looked upon as a very weak one. The Czar *Peter* being now safe in the *Troitsky* Monastery, wrote to all the Boyars to repair thither instantly ; he likewise wrote to all the Gentry in every Town to raise the Militia ; and having publish'd *Thekelavitan's* Attempt, he had in a Week's Time a numerous Body of Noblemen and Gentlemen about him. He sent Orders to *Galliczin* to attend him, but he excused himself on pretence of being withheld by the Czar *John*. Notwithstanding it was said they had also a Design upon him, if their Plot had not miscarried on *Peter*.

The Princess did all she could to get the *Strelitzes* on her Side, and having order'd some of them to be planted at the Foot of the Stairs, the Czar *John* and she coming from Mass, stood at the Top of the Stairs, from whence the Czar spoke to them to this Effect : *My Brother is retired to the Troitsky Monastery, for what Reason I know not, doubtless he intends to disturb the Peace of the State, and, as I am told, has commanded you to attend him ; but we forbid you upon Pain of Death, to obey his Orders.*

The Princess repeated the same Thing, but the *Strelitzes*, little heeding what either of them said, marched directly to the Monastery, where they assured the Czar *Peter* of their Fidelity. The Princess seeing this, and that most of the *Boyars* had joined *Peter*, resolved, if possible, to make her own Peace with him. In order to which she sent two of his Aunts to him, his Father's Sisters ; for, by the Example of Princess *Sophia*, several other of the Princesses of the Czarian House had now left their Convents.

The Ladies being come into the Presence of the Czar, beseeched him not to give Credit to those Rumours which had so much alarmed him. They assured him that there was some Misunderstanding in the Affair ; that they were maliciously spread to make a Breach between him and his Sister ; and that he might return to *Moscow* with great Safety.

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The Czar answered them, that he had not fled in a Pannick only ; that there was an apparent Conspiracy to murder himself, his Wife, his Mother, and Uncle ; and laid so many Circumstances before them, that they could not deny the Truth of it. The Princesses, with Tears in their Eyes, avowed their own Innocence, appeared shock'd at the horrid Design, and said they would never return to *Moscow*, but live and die with him.

The Princess *Sophia*, hearing of the bad Success of this Negotiation, and not knowing what Course to take, apply'd herself to the *Patriarch*, and so wrought upon him with her Tears and Intreaties, that the good Man offered himself for a Mediator : He went the same Day to the Czar *Peter*, and telling him his Errand, used all the strongest Arguments he could think of to persuade him to a Reconciliation with his Sister : But he was strangely surprized when he understood that he himself was to have been taken off, and that the Abbot *Sylvester*, who was in the Plot, if it had not miscarried, was to have been made *Patriarch* in his stead. This new Discovery was a great and shocking Surprize to him, he judged it might not be amiss for him to remain in the *Troitsky* Monastery, till the Affair was clear'd up, and Things better settled ; at the same Time he published a Proclamation to apprehend the Traitors.

The Princess, now in a worse Condition than ever, called her Creatures together, and consulted what to do ; it was resolved that *Thekelavitan* should be secured in the Palace, and that the Abbot *Sylvester* should be saved ; and then she herself, accompanied by Prince *Galliczin*, and the rest of her Friends, went towards the *Troitsky* Monastery, with Hopes of appeasing her Brother, who had sent a second Order to the *Strelitzes*, to come thither with Speed, and bring the Traitors with them. She was not got above half Way, before a *Boyar* met her, by the Czar *Peter's* Order, who told her she must go back again, for she would not be receiv'd ; she knew it

would be dangerous to disobey, and so returned, as she was ordered, to *Moscow*. The next Day the *Strelitzes* and *Germans* appeared at the *Troitsky* Monastery, and the *Boyars* being met, it was resolved to seize the Traitors wherever they could be found. A Colonel with three hundred Men, was ordered to execute this Resolution, who immediately marched to the Imperial Palace at *Moscow*, and there loudly demanded that *Fiska Thekelavitan* should be delivered to him; for after his Treason was discovered, he was no longer called *Feoder*, but by his Diminutive, or Nick-Name, which among the *Muscovites* is a Mark of Contempt. The Princess made some Resistance at first, but seeing the Colonel resolutely bent to take him, and considering the ill Consequences of her interposing too far, she deliver'd up *Fiska* and his Adherents. The Criminals, loaded with Chains, were carried to the *Troitsky*.

Prince *Galliczin*, at this Time, seeing himself on the Brink of Ruin, resolved to go likewise to the Monastery in Hopes of preserving himself by his Submission; he took with him his Son, and several of the greatest Men, who were his Friends; but when they came there they found the Gates shut against them; and Orders given to some of the Guards to go back with *Galliczin* and his Followers, and not to suffer any of them to stir out of their Houses.

As soon as *Thekelavitan*, or *Fiska*, as he was now called, was brought to the Monastery, he was convey'd into the great Hall, where the Czar had called together the *Boyars*, and there kept four Hours under Examination, from thence he was carried to a Tower in the Monastery, and had the * *Knout* given

* *M. DE LA MOTRAYE* gives the following Account of this Punishment: The *Knout*, saith he, is a Whip, the Lash of which is made of the Skin of an old Ass, boiled in Vinegar and Mare's Milk, and is about an Inch Broad. The Patient strips himself to his Waste, taking off

given him. This Punishment is for the most Part executed by the Hands of the common Hangman, who is likewise called the *Knoutavoit* Master. The Criminal is fastened to a strong Man's Back, and there receives two or three hundred Lashes, as the Judge appoints, on his bare Back, with a tough thick Thong, made of a wild Ass's Hide, and fastened to a Stick about two Feet and a half long like a Flail. The Executioner is so dextrous that he seldom hits twice in the same Place, but running a Step or two back, and then springing forward, at every Stroke draws Blood or raises a Wheal as thick as one's Finger.

Thekelavitan, after he had undergone a few of these Strokes, confessed that he was to have killed the Czar, his Mother, and her three Brothers. Upon

off his Shirt, and leaves nothing on but his Breeches; or if a Woman, nothing but her Petticoat: This done, he ascends a Sort of a Scaffold, where his Feet are fastened to the Floor; his Hands are put over the Shoulders of a strong Man, who with his Hands holds him fast to his Breast, so that he cannot stir; then the Executioner advances three or four Steps, as if he was running, till he comes within Reach of the Offender, and gives him his first Stroke on the Middle of his Back; then he retreats three or four Steps, and comes forward again, always with the same Quickness as at first, striking sometimes one Shoulder and sometimes another, and always with such Dexterity, that he never gives two Strokes upon the same Place: He repeats this Motion as many times as there are Blows order'd to be given by his Sentence, the Blood running in abundance all this while from the Patient's Back. This is the moderate Knout. When the Sentence orders the Knout between the moderate and the severe, one may see small Pieces of Flesh taken off at every Stroke of the Executioner; when it is ordered to be given with the utmost Severity, it is often mortal; for then the Executioner striking the Flanks under the Ribs, cuts the Flesh to the very Bowels.

on this they carried him back to Prison, from whence he wrote to the Czar *Peter*, and acquainted him at large with all the Particulars of the Conspiracy; pleaded that he was over persuaded to their cruel Enterprize, and named the Persons who put him upon it. The Czar, tho' fully satisfy'd of the Treason and Barbarity of his Sister, would not publicly expose a Princess of the Blood; but it was with great Difficulty that young *Galliczin* could save the Prince his Cousin, from being executed to the Dishonour of his Family.

Several others, who were to have been the Assassins, were afterwards examined, to whom they gave the *Question*, or extraordinary Torture, which is a Punishment more severe than the other. The Offenders had their Heads shaved, and being then ty'd fast, boiling Water was poured Drop by Drop on their Skulls, which put them to such exquisite and intollerable Pain, that they immediately acknowledged their Crime, and discovered their Accomplices, as *Theodore*, or *Fiska* had done: Two Days were spent in consulting how to punish the Criminals. Prince *Galliczin*, with his Son and Friends, were condemned to Banishment, and He, being brought to the Palace, had his Sentence read to him aloud; which was to this Purpose: "That he was ordered by the Czar, to go to *Karga*, a Town under the *Pole*, and to remain there as long as he lived, in Disgrace with his Majesty; who, of his great Goodness, nevertheless, allowed him three Pence a Day for his Subsistence; but that his Justice had ordained all his Goods to be forfeited to his Treasury.

The miserable Prince being conducted to the Place of his Exile; a Secretary was dispatch'd to *Moscow* to seize upon his Palace, and make an Inventory of all the Riches and Furniture to be found in it. Among other Things a Trunk was discover'd buried in a Vault, wherein were no less than a hundred Thousand Ducats, which were supposed to be the

the Spoils of the deposed *Hettman Juan Samuelerrick*, whose Misfortunes we have before related. Besides these there were four hundred Vessels of Silver, weighing forty Pounds each, and other Moveables of great Value. The Ladies of the Prince and his Son were banished with them, but were allowed to take with them no more than thirty *Roubles* among them all. *Thekelavitau* had his Head cut off the next Day; two *Strelitzes* who were to have been Assassins, suffered the same Punishment. The Colonel that commanded the Detachment was whip'd, had his Tongue cut out, and was sent to end his Days in *Siberia*, with an Allowance of a Penny a Day; five other *Strelitzes* had their Tongues cut out, and were sent into *Siberia*, likewise to kill Sables.

The Czar *Peter*, when these Executions were over, desired the Princess to leave the Palace, and retire into a Monastery, which she had built at *Dewitz*, a little Way out of Town, but she shewing some Reluctance to this, he commanded the President of the *Strelitzes* to conduct her thither, if not willingly, by Force, to set Guards upon all the Avenues, and suffer no Person to come to her. Two Days after this the Czar *Peter* returned to *Moscow*, and made his Entry on Horseback, attended by 18,000 *Strelitzes* armed for his Guard. His Wife and Mother followed soon after in a Coach. The Czar *John* stood to receive his Brother, at the Steps entering into the Palace; they embraced; *Peter* asked *John* to be Friends, who answering that he was so, they each retired to their several Apartments.

Thus ended the Regency of the Princess *Sophia*, who had governed the *Russian* Empire for some Years, but through a boundless Ambition, aiming at getting the whole Power into her own Hands, which she had held in the Name of her Brothers, she lost not only that Authority, which they would readily have allowed her, but her Liberty also, being

ing from that Time kept in close Confinement till the Day of her Death, which did not happen till the Year 1704, fifteen Years after; during which Time some Commotions were raised in her Favour, as will be seen hereafter.

The End of the First BOOK.



BOOK II.

The CONTENTS.

The Rise and Character of General Le Fort. The Rise and Character of Prince Menzicoff. A Description of Siberia. The Siege of Azoph. The Death of the Czar John. Peter becomes sole Monarch of Russia.

AS the Czar Peter seemed to be now settled alone in the Government, for tho' his elder Brother John continued Czar, yet his Name was little mentioned but in the Beginning of their publick Acts: It is not to be thought strange that his own nearest Relations should endeavour to get some Share in the Administration of Affairs. *Naraskin*, his Mother's Brother, found no Obstacle to his ambitious Views, but the Favourite, young *Galliczin*, whom he could not very easily destroy, having himself been the greatest Cause of his Advancement; however, *Peter*, at that Time, giving no Presages of being that great Prince he afterwards appeared, taking Delight in very idle and cruel Diversions, and having but little of the Politician in him, was wrought upon by *Naraskin*, to believe that his Favourite must needs have been concerned in some of the Enterprizes of his Cousin the Great *Galliczin*, as might be judged from

from his zealous Endeavours to prevent his Execution; but the *Czar Peter*, at first, seemed very unwilling to suspect a Person, who had no less than three Times saved his Life: However *Naraskin*, at length accompanied by his Daughter and Sons, with Tears in their Eyes, declared to *Peter*, that if he did not remove this Favourite, he might as well recall the Great *Galliczin* from Exile: He yielded to them at last, and promised to confine his Favourite to live upon his own Lands; but *Galliczin* being advertized of the Matter, withdrew thither before any such Orders were sent him.

As soon as the *Czar* heard of it, he sent Courier after Courier to him, to know the Cause of his Retirement: To whom he only answer'd, that since his past Conduct could not convince his Majesty of his Fidelity, he desired no more than to be allowed to live there without ever coming to Court. The *Czar* was so sensibly touch'd with this, that he sent two Boyars to visit him, and a few Days after, being impatient to see him, sent two others to desire him to return, which he did accordingly, and was very much carressed by the *Czar*. This Turn so much alarmed the *Naraskins*, and their Party, that they endeavoured by all Means to be reconciled to him. For some Time he made as great a Figure at Court again as ever, conferring Favours on all his Friends. He so far followed the Maxims of his Cousin the great *Galliczin*, that he caused many Grantees to be disgraced, and gave their Places to his own Creatures; but then they were not such as the other preferred, Men of Worth and Abilities; but Drunkards and Debauchés like himself. The *Naraskins* were still secretly contriving how to undermine him, and at length so far prevailed as to bring the *Czar* into an Opinion, that if he was trusted with so much Power as the Place of the late *Galliczin*, which was designed for him, would give him, he might attempt to release the Princess *Sophia*, and therefore it was bestowed on *Naraskin*, his Mother's Father. This Place had been kept in Commission
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ever since the Banishment of Prince *Basil Basilwick Galliczin*, and being thus disposed of at a Time when it was least expected, determined all sorts of People to follow the Party of the *Naraskins*, who were soon put into Places of the greatest Trust, among the rest, old *Naraskin's* eldest Son was made Great Chamberlain, and young *Galliczin* turned out of that Place, which so much incensed him, that he could not forbear expressing his Resentment with very great Rashness, and charged the Czar with Weakness; his Enemies could not but rejoice at having so good a Handle to accuse him; and did his Business so effectually, that he was shortly after banished in a most ignominious Manner. The *Naraskins* now took upon them to govern with so much Pride and Arrogance, that most People began to deplore the Loss of the Great *Galliczin*, who had formed many Schemes for the Welfare of the *Russian* Empire, he had built one large College of Stone, in which he had placed twenty Doctors, he brought many Books into the Country, and advised many of the Boyars to give their Sons some Learning, a Thing very little understood in *Muscovy* at that Time; he permitted Strangers to come in and go out of the Nation, which was before prohibited. All these Things were set at nought by the *Naraskins*, who again forbad all Foreigners to come into *Muscovy*, and were again reducing all Things apace to their ancient State of profound Ignorance, and brutish Tyranny; but a new Favourite, the young Czar *Peter* soon after made choice of, one *Le Fort*, began to make Arts and Sciences revive in *Muscovy*; to him was owing the first Foundation of the true *Russian* Grandeur, and from him the Czar imbibed such Notions of Virtue and Propriety, as made him afterwards one of the most illustrious Princes that ever reigned, and truly deserving the Name of *Peter the Great*.

This * *Le Fort* was a Gentleman of a reputable trading Family at *Geneva*, who from his Child-

* *Le Mottraye*. Vol. III. Chap. III.

Childhood, had a strong Inclination to all military Affairs, but, at the Desire of his Father, who more approved of Trade, was bred up in the Compting House of *M. Franconis*, an eminent Merchant in *Amsterdam*. With this Gentleman he behaved so well that he loved him like his own Child, and *Le Fort*, having a Desire to see other Countries, prevailed upon him to let him go to *Copenhagen* in a Merchant Ship he was going to send thither. His Master entrusted him with the whole Cargo, and he discharged his Commission with great Faithfulness and Advantage, even beyond what could be expected from one so young and so lately brought into Business.

At the Sight of the *Danish* Troops in this Warlike Country, his Love of Arms began to revive. He made an Acquaintance with several Officers of the King of *Denmark's* Army, and was much loved and respected by them, on Account of his Inclinations to, and Readiness in learning, all kinds of military Exercises. At this Time an Ambassador from *Denmark* going to the Court of *Moscow*, *Le Fort*, still desirous of seeing other Countries, got a Recommendation to go in his Retinue; he soon made himself Master of the *Russian* Language, and served the Ambassador for an Interpreter, who, for his great Genius, excellent Qualities, and fine Person, had a most extraordinary Value for him.

1690. The Ambassador, being a Person of great Merit, was highly esteemed at *Moscow*, by both the Czars, especially by *Peter*, who frequently did him the Honour to eat at his Table, and there first took Notice of *Le Fort*; finding he spoke the Language of the Country well, he asked him several Questions, and was so well pleased with all the Answers he made him, that he at last asked him, if he was willing to enter into his Service? *M. Le Fort*, in the most respectful Manner, reply'd, that whatever Ambition he might have to serve so great a Monarch, yet the Duty and Gratitude he owed to his Master, would not allow him to promise any thing with-

without his Consent. Well, said the Czar, *I will ask the Consent of your Master*: But, I hope, said *Le Fort*, your Majesty will have the Goodness to make use of any other Interpreter than myself to ask that Question. The Czar, by one of his own Interpreters, taking Notice that *Le Fort* spoke good *Russian*, the Ambassador answered, that he had a Genius to learn any Thing; when he came to me, about four Months ago, said he, he spoke the *German* but ill, I have only two Persons in my Train that speak the *German*, and he now speaks it as well as either of them; he did not know one Word of the *Sclavonian*, continued he, when he first came into *Courland*, and yet your Majesty yourself says, he speaks good *Russian*. Young *Le Fort*, when he first heard the Commendations the Ambassador gave him, withdrew to a distant Part of the Room, which modest Behaviour did not a little increase the Czar's good Opinion of him, who soon after called to him to bring him a Glass of Wine; no more was said on this Subject that Day; but the next Time the Ambassador came to Court, the Czar told him he had a Desire to have *Le Fort* about him, and asked if he would part with him: The Ambassador reply'd, that the Exchange was too advantageous to *Le Fort*, that he wished him too well, and had too great a Regard to the Commands of his Majesty, not to consent to it.

Le Fort, by the Czar's Order, went to him the next Day, was made his first Interpreter, and soon became so great a Favourite, that he was carried with him wherever he went. The Czar took Pleasure in talking to him about the Courts he had seen, as *Savoy*, *France*, and *Denmark*: And discoursing one Day, among other foreign Affairs, of the King of *Denmark's* Guards, he asked him what he thought of his? which were the *Strelitzes* at that Time; and bad him speak his Mind freely. He answer'd, that he thought the same of them as of all his Soldiers, that they were fine well made Men, who wanted only to be well disciplined and properly

properly cloathed; that the long Coats they wore were not at all becoming to Soldiers, but must needs be inconvenient and troublesome. The Czar expressing a Desire to see some that were more commodious, *Le Fort*, without loosing any Time, went to the *Danish* Ambassador's Taylor, and made him take Measure of him for a Suit of Cloaths for a Captain of the Guards, and another for a common Man; and two Days after appeared in the first at the Czar's Levee, who was surprized at his coming into his Chamber, and did not know him till he spoke to him; but, when he did, was much pleased with the Dress, and greatly commended his Diligence. Two Days after that, he appeared in the other Suit, with both which the Czar was so well pleased, that he ordered the same Cloathing for a whole Company, who should be disciplined, he said, after the Manner which *Le Fort* had mentioned of other Courts.

M. *Le Fort* sent to all the Merchants of different Nations settled at *Moscow*, and went to some himself, for all Things necessary to cloath this Company; taking all the Taylors he could find at the Ambassadors Houses, and those who served the Merchants, he desired an Order from the Czar to have Measure taken of those among the *Strelitzes* who were of the best Shape and Stature. He then gathered a Number of Officers and other Strangers together, who had some Knowledge in the Military Exercise, and were willing to enter into the Czar's Service, or were already engaged in it; and had them cloathed according to the Posts that were given them: At length he compleated and cloathed a Company of fifty Men, and, putting himself at their Head, marched, with Drums beating, before the Palace Gate, a little before the Time that the Guard of *Strelitzes* used to meet there. The Czar, coming to the Window, was much surprized, but highly pleased with the Spectacle: *Le Fort* gave them here their first Lesson of Military Exercise, in the Presence of that Prince, who came down from
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his Chamber as soon as it began, and when it was over, he said, he would enter into the Company and learn the Exercise himself, whereupon he order'd a Suit of Cloaths to be made for him, as a common Centinel. *Peter*, altho' he condescended to wear this mean Habit, was not displeased, (as the late Czar *Theodore*, his Brother, had loved and encouraged Magnificence in Apparel, and Equipages) to find that the People, who had before been Strangers to all Kinds of Grandeur, were coming, by degrees, to have some Taste of it. He had indeed too exalted a Mind himself to give Way to Luxury and unmanly Pleasures, but from this Time led an active Life, continually labouring for the Good of his Country. Nay, he even took the meanest Post in his Army, that of a Drummer, strictly forbidding his Captain to remember he was Czar; he served with all due Submission, lived upon his Pay, and lay in the Tent of a Drummer, till promoted to the degree of a Serjeant, which was not till he had deserved it, in the Judgment of his Officers, whom he would punish if they judged too favourably of him. By this Procedure he gave his Nobility to understand, that Birth alone was not enough to entitle them to Military Preferments. The Hardships and low Employments he went through himself, seemed to give him the stronger Right to demand a strict Observance of their Duty in his Subjects.

He frequently made Reinforcements to this Company, which *M. Le Fort* had raised, having them disciplined in the *German* Way, and giving the Command to Foreigners, till, at length, he had a considerable Body of well regulated Troops, which, for want of other Employment, he would engage in Parties against each other, in the Representation of Mock-Sieges and Battles. The *Strelitzes*, who looked on these Sights as the diverting Amusements of a young Prince fond of military Exercises, little suspected how much their own Interest was concerned in them; for *Peter*, thinking they had

had too much Power, and were too strongly attached to the Princess *Sophia*, resolved to lessen their Strength, and furnish himself with Soldiers better disciplined, and more to be depended on.

And now to the utter Extinction of all the Hopes his Sister, and her Party, might have conceived of her returning to the Regency, after the Death of *Peter*, without Issue, his Wife was, this Year (1690) delivered of a Son, who, according to the *Muscovite* Fashion, of giving the christian Name of the Father for the Sirname of the Son, was called *Alexis Petrowitz*, of whose unhappy End, before the Death of his Father, I shall give an Account in the third and last Volume of this Work.

The Foreigners which *M. Le Fort* had procured for the Czar's Guards, so highly pleased him, that he was resolved to have a greater Number, and of such as were skilled in different Professions, that he might introduce Arts and Sciences into his Country, and make some Figure among the other Princes of *Europe*, who were more polite but less powerful than himself. *M. Le Fort* observed to him, that it would be impossible for him to succeed in this Design without a Regulation of his Finances, which were in as great Disorder as his Troops, or any thing else had been; that his Revenues were not sufficient to bear the Expences of what he proposed, and support that great Number of Foreigners he talked of, who would not be brought into his Service but on a Prospect of Advantage, and being regularly paid. He made it appear to his Majesty, that the Reason of his Revenues being so inconsiderable in ready Money, was the heavy Taxes on all Sorts of Goods, which made the Merchants contrive all the clandestine Ways they could to defraud him of his Customs, and which they did but too well succeed in. His Czarish Majesty, convinced of the Reason of what *Le Fort* told him, ordered his Duties to be lowered from 10 per Cent. to 4 or 5, and inflicted severe Penalties on such as should attempt to commit any Frauds: He soon found

found the Benefit of this wholesome Advice, and that his Revenues, the very first Year after, were increased near two Millions of *Roubles*.

M. *Le Fort* having thus put it in the Power of the Czar to encourage Foreigners, and they finding it worth while to leave their own Countries, there soon appeared in *Russia* an infinite Number of all Nations, especially *Germans*, *Scots*, and *French*, not only Officers, and experienced Soldiers for his Army, but Men skilful and expert in every Profession. He was the first who built a Stately Palace of cut Stone in *Moscow*; which raised an Emulation in other great Men to do the like for the Embellishment of that City, at that Time the Capital of the Empire.

This great and good Man, the worthy Favourite of the Czar, was beloved by all who knew him; he was generous and disinterested to that degree, that he never accepted of any the least Present, from those he put into Employments, but yet, by his Merit, his Services, and other justifiable and honourable Means, acquired immense Riches, which he possessed without Envy from the *Russians*, who looked upon him as their Father. He saved the Lives of an infinite Number of Boyars and other rich Persons, to whom the Czar would have given the *Knout*, or beheaded with his own Hands. When he was going to do this, many times on trifling Occasions, M. *Le Fort* would present his own Head or Shoulders to him, bidding him cut or strike there, but spare the innocent Person. The Czar, being made sensible of his Barbarity, by such generous Acts, would take him in his Arms, and kiss him, and sometimes the trembling Victim, whom he was the Minute before ready to sacrifice to his wild Passion. M. *Le Fort*, in all Things studied the Interest of his Master, and his Subjects, and, to take away all Jealousy from the *Russians* against the Foreigners he had introduced into their Country, he would recommend such of the Natives to the Czar, for Preferment, whom he himself, or
some

some of those Foreigners, had taken Pains to qualify for the most profitable Employments. His own Merit was fix'd on the solid Basis of such Honour and Integrity that he feared no Rivals. A Proof of this was, the Care he took to make *Menzicoff* fit for the great Posts he afterwards enjoyed, who was just then taken into Favour, from the Dregs of the People; but *Peter* the Great, and the generous *Le Fort*, were able to distinguish Merit, where few other Men ever look for it.

Alexander Menzicoff, when the Czar *Peter* first took Notice of him, had no higher an Employment than singing Ballads, and crying a Sort of Puffs and Cakes, made of minced Meat, and called in the Russian Language, *Piragi Podovi*, about the Streets of *Moscow*, but, from this low Degree, and from one of the poorest, in Time, he became one of the richest Subjects that ever was in *Russia*, obtained the Title of a Prince, and built Palaces more magnificent than those of the Czar himself. As to his Birth, *Monf. de la Motraye* tells us, "that some Persons, who pretended to be well informed of it, assured him, that his Parents were Vassals of the Monastery of *Cosmopoli*, on the Western Banks of the River *Volga*. As their Condition was very miserable, they could give him no better Education than their own, and he could neither write nor read any more than themselves; but, being arrived at the Age of 13 or 14, he left them without saying any thing to them, to seek a Service at *Moscow*, and was taken into that of a Pastry-Cook.

It happened one Day, as this fortunate Lad was crying his Pastry about the Streets, that the Czar hearing, and being diverted with one of his Songs, sent for him, and asked him if he would sell his Pies, and his Basket, and how much he would have for them? The Boy immediately reply'd, that he had Power to sell his Pies, but for his Basket, he must ask his Master's Leave before he could dispose of it to any Body else; but, as every thing belonged to his Majesty, he needed only

only to lay his Commands upon him. This Reply pleased the Czar so much that he immediately ordered him to come to Court, and said, he would make his Fortune.

He had at first a mean Employment given him, but the Czar frequently seeing him, and talking to him, was so much pleased with his Wit, that he thought fit to place him about his Person, and made him Groom of his Bedchamber, from whence he rose to that high Pitch of Honour we shall find him hereafter. He was very handsome in his Person, tall and well-shaped; at his first coming into the Czar's Service, he lifted himself into *M. Le Fort's* Company of Soldiers; and was instructed, by that General with Knowledge and Skill enough to command Armies, which he afterwards undertook with the greatest Success, and became one of the bravest and most victorious Generals in the Czar's Service.

I have before taken Notice, that in the Expedition to the *Crim*, the Troops of *Siberia* were excused from being sent thither on Account of the War they were forced to maintain against the *Chinese Tartars*, with whom this Year (1691) a Treaty of Peace was set on Foot, and soon brought to a happy Conclusion.

I think it may not be improper, in this Place, to give some Description of *Siberia*, a Country so frequently mentioned in this Work.

The Country of *Siberia*, with the Provinces belonging to it, is reckoned one eighth Part of the *Russian* Dominions, extending towards the South-East as far as the River *Argun*, which is within a few Days Journey of the famous Wall of *China*.

This Country was conquered, about 150 Years since, in the Reign of *John Basilowitz*, the Tyrant, by the Means of a certain Pyrate, named *Feremak Timofciowitz*, who having much harrassed, and done great Damage to the Czar's Subjects, and then hearing the Troops of that Prince were coming against him, hastened back again, and implored the Protection of one *Stroginos*, a very rich *Russ* Merchant,

chant, who had a great Number of flat bottom'd Vessels, some of them carrying a thousand Ton, which he constantly employed on the River *Wolga*, for the Transportation of his Merchandize, and not only maintained Factors at all the great Towns on that River, but at several Places on the Eastern Rivers, which fall into it, and thereby extended his Commerce to the People bordering on the River *Oby*, exchanging his Goods for the rich Furs of *Siberia*. This Merchant, on the Pyrate's Promise of subduing all the Country to the Power of the Czar, supply'd him with Vessels, and what he wanted for the Expedition, and likewise promised to procure his Pardon. With this Encouragement he and his Companions embarked, and went up the River *Serebrenkoi*, possessed himself of a strong Fortrefs, slew all he met, and then returned to the Capital of *Siberia*, there killed the King, and brought his Sons away Prisoners to *Moscow*, where, not many Years since, remained a Descendant of the Family, who had the Title of the *Siberski Czaro-witz*; he was allowed a small Estate, and lived well esteemed by the Czar and the *Russian* Nobility.

The Pyrate, after this Success, going down the River *Irtis*, was attacked in the Night by a Party of *Tartars*: In the Skirmish he lost the best Part of his People, and endeavouring to save himself, by jumping out of one Vessel into another was drowned. *Strogino*f had sent to Court in the mean Time, and obtained his Pardon; he likewise sent Troops to fortify the Places he had taken. Thus it was that this Country fell under the Dominion of the *Muscovites*, which, before without a Name, they now call *Siberia*, a Word signifying in the *Slavonian* Language, a Prison; because hither are sent many Criminals condemned, some to perpetual Banishment, and some for a Term of Years, and are obliged to shoot for their Livings or starve; they are to bring in a certain Quantity of Furs Weekly, or else are severely punished by Men sent thither on Purpose to oversee them. They are

forced sometimes to lie all Night in the open Fields in the midst of Winter, to perform this Task, but have then good Fires about them; they must take particular Care that the fine Furs have no Holes in them, nor let them be stained with Blood, but are beaten if any such Faults are committed, which makes them very dextrous in Shooting them with a single Ball in the Head.

The great Number of *Swedes* sent hither after the famous Battle of *Pultowa*, exercising various Kinds of Trades, and some setting up little Schools, has rendered the Country somewhat less Savage than formerly.

The River *Oby* runs quite thro' the Province, which is well stored with Sturgeon and Bellugas; the last is a Fish twelve or fifteen Feet long, large, and resembles a Sturgeon, the Meat is whiter than Veal, and as delicious as Marrow; but indeed the *Volga* is best stored both with this Fish and Sturgeon of any River in the North. One Thing is related of this Fish very remarkable, which is, that when the Floods come down from the Mountains, by the melting of the Snows, and the Streams grow very rapid, they will swallow very large Stones to make them the heavier, and better able to stem the Torrent, and throw them up again when the Waters abate, and the Current is not so strong. It is of the soft Roes of the Belluga, and the Sturgeon together, that the People of *Astracan* make *Caviere*; they put the Roes in a heap of Salt, and when they have fermented a little, squeeze them, and barrel them up.

In this Part of the Czar's Dominions are several Iron Works, and the Iron brought from thence is thought better, and sells for a larger Price, than any other Iron in all *Muscovy*. There is also a Sort of Ivory, which is the Tooth of an amphibious Creature called a *Behemoth*, commonly found about the River *Lama*, and the Lakes thereabouts. This Province brings a considerable Revenue into the Czar's Treasury, and likewise not only maintains

tains the Garrisons in the Country, but sends constant Recruits to the Army of Soldiers, looked upon as good as any Troops in *Muscovy*: Besides these Advantages, it is by the Way of this Country that the *Russians* carried on a beneficial Trade to *China*, a considerable Caravan of Merchants going thither every Year, who barter'd chiefly the rich Furs of *Siberia*, such as black Fox, Sable, Tiger and Ermin, and some small Goods imported at *Arch-Angel*, for Tea, fine wove Silks, and a Sort of Linnen mixt with Cotton, which is much worn by the *Russian* Women.

The eastern *Tartars*, who own the Protection of the Emperor of *China*, had for some Time carried on a War with the Czar's Subjects of *Siberia*, who had built a Fort on the River *Amur*; but this was relinquish'd to the *Chinese* this Year 1691, the Bounds between each Country settled to be at the Head of the River *Argun*, and a Peace concluded by the Negotiation of Count *Gollowin*, sent by the Czars into *China* for that Purpose.

Having thus made Peace with a foreign Power, he was not yet without some Troubles at home, but was too much a Master of himself, and every Body about him, to suffer a Grievance to stick to him which could be removed; in short, having some Suspicion, as was pretended, of Disloyalty in his Wife, he put her away, and had her strictly confin'd all the Rest of her Days.

The real Cause of this hard Treatment, was reported by some to be owing to some reproachful Language she had, thro' Jealousy, bestowed on *Menzikoff*, complaining, that he carried her Husband to visit lewd Women, who were formerly his Customers for Cakes. This Reflection upon his old Calling, rais'd in him so strong a Resentment, that not content to persuade the Czar to be divorced from her, and shut her up thus closely in a Prison, he pursued his Revenge upon the Son he had by her, even to his Destruction, prevailing upon *Peter* to use him as he did, so many Years after:

This, I say, was reported by some, but it will be found in the Sequel of this History, that the Czar had but too much Cause to proceed as he did against this bad Son, who was fully convicted of being in a Conspiracy against his Life and Government. *M. de Voltaire* says, that one Cause of the Czar's ill Usage of his Wife, was the Dislike she shewed to the Alterations he was about to make in his Country, which was to him the greatest of all Offences: But there was more than that in it: She had joined in her Son's Rebellion.

In the Year 1692, Mr. *Isbrant*, a *Danish* Gentleman, was sent by the Czars *John* and *Peter* to confirm the Peace negotiated by Count *Gollowin*, and settle Articles of Commerce with *China*. Whose Journey, being the Rout from *Moscow* to *China*, through a Country wild and little known, it may be some Pleasure to the Reader to see an Account of it, and may give him an Idea not only of the great Extent of the *Russian* Dominions, but of the different Sorts of People who inhabit the different Parts of that Empire, for which Reasons I have placed it at the End of this Work, as it is to be found in *M. Le Bruyn's Travels*, only somewhat abridged the Relation there given, and left out some trifling Particulars.

M. Isbrant took Leave of the two Czars in the Month of *March* 1692, and left *Moscow* with a Train of 21 Persons, twelve of which were *Germans*, and the other nine *Russians*; these were followed by Carriages for the necessary Provisions and Baggage for so long a Journey. On the 8th of *October* 1693, he arrived at the famous Wall which separates *China* from the *Mongul* Tartars. This Wall, in the Opinion of all who speak of it after having seen it, far exceeds any of the seven Wonders, so much boasted of by the Antients; it is at least three hundred *German* Leagues in Length; is above thirty Cubits high, and from twelve to fifteen in Thickness; it is extended on the Tops of Mountains, and forms many Arches for Rivers to pass under; it is entirely built of Flint Stones, so well cemented,

cemented, that it has now lasted near two thousand Years; there are Towers on it at the Distance of two Bow-Shots from each other; it was formerly guarded by a Million of Soldiers, but has at Present only some Guards at the Gates of it. The *Chinese* affirm, that when the Emperor XI. *Hoanli*, first built it, to stop the Progress of the *Tartars*, he ordered the whole Empire of *China* to furnish three Men out of every ten for the Work, and that this stupendious Wall, was finished in five Years.

M. *Isbrant* made his Entry into *Pekin* on the third of *November*, and on the fourteenth had Audience of the Emperor *Cum-ky*, who was then about forty-five Years of Age, and receiv'd this Minister of their Czarish Majesties in a most gracious and distinguished Manner, and, during his Residence there, shew'd him more Respect than is usually paid to Strangers, which was chiefly attributed to the Influence that the *Jesuits* had over him, who by this Means were in Hopes of obtaining some Privileges for their Society in *Russia*, which had hitherto always been denied them.

M. *Isbrant*, having met with all Success in his Commission, left *Pekin* on the 19th of *February* 1694, and took the shortest Rout to return to *Moscow*, and found not so many Difficulties as in his Journey to *China*, for he arrived within five Wersts of *Moscow* on the last Day of the same Year, so that he was but ten Months and ten Days, in his Return, whereas he had been more than nineteen Months going from *Moscow* to *Pekin*. The Czar *Peter*, no sooner heard that he was come to *Alexeche*, than he went to meet him, impatient to hear from his own Mouth a Recital of his long Voyage, and especially to enquire what Discoveries he had made, and after such Circumstances as he thought might favour the Design he had of establishing the Trade of his Subjects on that Side, by which he hoped to have all those Commodities by Land from *China*, which the other Nations of

Europe could not come at but by very long and expensive Voyages by Sea.

The Czar, during this Time, had presented his Subjects with a Scene entirely new to them. He had by chance taken Notice of a *Dutch Yacht*, that lay disused in a Canal belonging to one of his Houses of Pleasure, with which being wonderfully pleased, and having talked to his Favourite M. Le Fort, among other Things about Shipping, that ingenious Gentleman so strongly laid before him the Advantages that the maritime Powers of *Europe* reaped from their naval Affairs, that he, from that Instant, conceived a great Notion thereof, and was resolved to turn his Views that Way. Hereupon he immediately gave Orders to some *Hollanders*, who were then at *Moscow*, to build several small Vessels, and afterwards four Frigates of four Guns each, with which he would often divert himself with sailing upon the *Perislausky Lake*, and caused now and then Mock-Fights to be performed thereon, in which he acted and commanded as a Sea-Captain, and from thenceforward took that Title upon him.

The Time and Thoughts of the Czar *Peter* being taken up with the great Designs he had meditated for the Improvement of his Country, he had for a while neglected the War, began with the *Grim-Tartars*, who likewise avoided all Occasions of drawing the Arms of the *Russians* upon them; and the *Cham* had made no late Demand of the 80,000 annual *Roubles*, which he before insisted on with great Exactness. On the other Hand, it was not at all for the Interest of the Czar to assist in any Thing that might aggrandize the *Poles*, who were no sooner favoured by Fortune, and able to support themselves without the Help of their Neighbours, than they treated them with insufferable Pride, and began to revive those Pretensions which they renounced in the Time of their Adversity. But the *Tartars*, having now nothing to fear in their own Country, committed many cruel Ravages in the Dominions under the King of *Poland*, which the Ministers of
that

That Prince represented to the Czar's in the strongest Terms, and took Pains to persuade them how favourable an Opportunity there was at that Time to reduce the *Tartars* to such a Condition, as that they should be never able to molest them again; they had been often beat in Rencounters with the *Poles*, and were much weakened by the long War they had been engaged in.

The Czar's Council had too much Penetration not to see these Advantages, and therefore, at the Instance of the Emperor of *Germany*, the *Poles*, and *Venetians*, *Russia* likewise declared War with the *Turks* and *Tartars*. Peter commanded several Gallies and Vessels to be built, and equipt on the River *Veronis*, which, with some open Boats of the *Cossacks* who inhabit about 700 *Russ* Miles, on the *Tanais* or *Don*, he employed the next Year in besieging *Azoph*, situated at the Mouth of the last mentioned River, where it falls into the *Palus Maotis*.

The Year 1695 beheld the first Campaign of the two most formidable Monarchs in *Europe*, Peter I. Czar of *Muscovy*, and *Mustapha* II. Emperor of the *Turks*: This last succeeded his Uncle *Achmet* II. whose Conduct displeasing as much as his Father's, he was resolved to take other Measures, and to know and do every Thing himself. He found both his Army and Treasury in a very mean Condition, but he knew how, by the Severity of his Discipline and cunning Management, to re-establish them, designing to begin the War, as it were, afresh, and resolved, notwithstanding all the Remonstrances his Ministers made against it, to march himself at the Head of an Army, he designed for *Hungary*. He had nothing to fear from the Side of *Poland*, from whence an Envoy was just then come as far as *Adrianople*, to propose a separate Peace; but he was much alarmed at the News of the Preparations making by the Czar *Peter* against the *Tartars*, because this obliged them to refuse sending the Succours which he had rely'd upon; howe-

ver, notwithstanding all the *Cham* could say, he forced him to bring a Body of six thousand Men, for it is an indispenfible Duty of the *Cham's* to be present in the *Ottoman* Army, whenever that Sultan himself commands it.

This Circumstance was very favourable to the Designs of the Czar, who in this Expedition entered himself as Ensign only; but he had an Army of about eighty or ninety Thousand well disciplined Men, divided into two Bodies, one to attack the Town of *Azoph*, the other to support the *Donski Cossacks*, and make Head against the *Tartars*, if they should attempt to raise the Siege or throw any Succours into the Town; but this the *Turks* were able to do by Water; and making frequent Sallies, held out a resolute Defence for about two Months; during which Time his *Czarish* Majesty was every where, saw Things all done himself, and made Remarks upon what happened; the *Russians*, whenever they skirmished with any of the Enemy, had the better of them, and now began to play their Battery on the Place with good Success; but the Progress they had made was all rendred fruitless, by the Treachery of one *Jacob*, a Foreigner, employed in the *Russian* Artillery, who, having been ill used by the Boyar he served under, and not receiving his Pay as he expected, nailed up the Canon upon the Batteries he was entrusted with, and deserting in the Night, to the Enemy, informed them of what he had done, inciting them at the same Time to make a bold Sally, which they did accordingly, and put the *Muscovites* into such Confusion, and committed so much Slaughter among them, that they were forced soon after to leave the Place for that Year, and turn the Siege into a Blockade. This sudden Change of Fortune destroy'd all Hopes of taking the City, without pursuing other Measures, for which Reason his *Czarish* Majesty returned to *Moscow*, not doubting, but he should make his Advantage the next Year of the Errors he had observed to be committed in this Campaign. It

was at this Time, that he gave his Minifters Proofs of that great Genius and Penetration which afterwards made all his Enterprizes easy to him.

The first Campaign of the *Czar Peter* was talk'd of all over *Europe*, and the Accounts of whatever he performed himself greatly exaggerated, which gave the World an Idea of him quite different from what had been conceived of any of his Predecessors, and began to raise those Hopes of him which were afterwards fully accomplished; but Fame was somewhat too speedy in her Flight, when she carried through all Parts the News of the Reduction of *Azoph*, which Design miscarried at the very Instant that it was thought secure.

Soon after his Majesty's Return to *Moscow*, viz. in the Month of *February* 1696, dy'd his Brother, the *Czar John Alexowicz*, of whose Infirmities I have before spoken, which rendered him incapable of concerning himself much with the Affairs of State; but his Time was chiefly spent in Acts of Devotion. He was buried at *Moscow*, in the Church of *St. Michael*, where most of the Dukes and Czars of *Muscovy* have been deposited, with a Tomb more magnificent than any of the rest, being adorned with a great Number of precious Stones. He left, at the Time of his Death, three Daughters, one of which is that illustrious Princess, *ANNE JOANNOWNA*, who sways at present the Imperial Scepter of *Russia*.

The End of the Second BOOK.



BOOK III.

The CONTENTS.

The Czar takes Azoph. Builds a Fleet. Determines to travel. A Conspiracy against him; happily discovered. His Journey to Holland and England. Another Conspiracy against him, while he is Abroad. His Return to Moscow. Punishes the Rebels. Settles his Army and Navy. Institutes the Order of St. Andrew. Declares War with Sweden. An Account of the Muscovite Religion, Ceremonies, and Superstitions. The Czar reforms the Abuses in his Revenues.

THE Czar Peter, now sole Monarch of Russia, having employ'd several Venetians and others to build more Vessels at Veronis, and finding them in a proper Condition to fall down the River Don, went this Year a second Time against Azoph, and acting with great Boldness and Vigour aboard his own Fleet, when the Turks came before the Bar, as they did the last Year, by the Way of the Black Sea, to have thrown fresh Succours into the Town, and supply them with Provisions, Men, and Money, he laid an Ambuscade behind a small Island, and then making a Shew of retiring before them, when he had drawn them a little Way up the River, fell upon them, and took and sunk several of their Vessels; and upon their making a second Attempt, with small Vessels and Boats, he beat them back over the Bar.

At the same Time that his Majesty built the Vessels before mentioned, he largely recruited his Army,

Army, which, under the Command of General Gordon, a Scotch Man, carried on the Siege with great Resolution. The Enemy finding themselves disappointed of the Relief they expected, and every Way distressed by the extraordinary Behaviour of the Czar and his Army, were obliged to surrender upon Condition of being allowed to march out of the Place without their Arms, and to deliver up Jacob, the treacherous Engineer, to be punished according to his Crime.

He was carried to *Moscow*, where he was broke alive upon the Wheel, after having been three times tortured on the *Pine*, * being told, at the same Time, that when he found himself aggrieved he should have Recourse to his Majesty for Justice, and not have acted so traiterously.

His Czarish Majesty gave Notice to all the Princes of Christendom of the Success of his Arms, on which Occasion his Minister at the Court of *Vienna* observed to his Imperial Majesty that, after what his Master had done for the common Cause, it would be very injurious to make Peace without him, for that in such Case the whole Strength of the *Ottoman* Arms would be turned against him. The Czar himself likewise, after his Return to *Moscow*, took care to let the Emperor know, that the *Cham* of *Tartary* had sent Propositions to him, but that he was so far from listening to them, that he had order'd his Ambassadors to be told, that he

* *This Punishment is executed in the following Manner: The Criminal's Hands being tied together behind his Back, he is drawn up by a Rope fastened to them, having a large Weight hanging at his Feet; his Shoulders being turned out of Joint, and his Arms coming over his Head, the Executioner is then to give him so many Strokes as the Judge has ordered in his Sentence; between whiles a Subdiackshick, or Writer, examines the Offender, concerning the Crimes he is accused of, which being done, his Arms are put into Joint again by the Hangman, and he is either dismissed or sent back to Prison.*

he must apply to the Emperor of the *Romans*. The Sincerity of this Behaviour engaged his Imperial Majesty to enter into a Treaty of Alliance, offensive and defensive, with the Czar, for three Years, on Condition, that one should not make Peace without the other. The *Venetians* also, who had reap'd considerable Advantages from what passed in the *Black Sea*, and being inform'd of the favourable Dispositions of his Czarish Majesty, sent full Powers to their Ambassador at *Vienna* to conclude an Alliance, offensive and defensive, with the Ministers of *Russia*, engaging to furnish his Czarish Majesty with all necessary Succours; and the King of *Sweden*, *Charles XII.* offered the same, notwithstanding the Provinces of *Sweden*, bordering on *Russia*, especially *Livonia*, were at that Time in a miserable Condition.

The Reduction of so important a Place as *Azoph*, by which he opened a Passage into the *Euxine* or *Black Sea*, could not but be very pleasing to the Czar; when he returned to *Moscow* he received the Compliments of all the Boyars upon his Victory, who laid the whole Success on his Majesty's great Conduct on Board the Fleet, by which he prevented any Supplies being carried to the Enemy; and finding, by the Experience he got in this Action, the great Advantage of a maritime Force, he resolved to establish a Navy, that should not only secure his Conquests, but enable him to meet and oppose the *Turks* in the *Black Sea*; he therefore immediately commanded that Workmen should be sent for from *Holland*, to build Ships, and from *Venice* and other Parts of *Italy*, to build Galleys, determining to have a Fleet of forty Men of War, ten store Ships and bomb Vessels, twenty large Galleys and Galleasses, and thirty half Galleys and other Vessels, built and equipt with all Things ready to put to Sea, within the Space of three Years.

The Course he took to instruct himself and his Subjects in the Art of Navigation, is so very surprising, that it is a Part of History that will hardly

gain

gain Credit with Posterity. Besides the usual Taxes paid for the Support of the War, he obliged several of his richest Boyars to build each of them a Ship at his own Expence; but allowed them the Honour of giving their own Names to the Vessels so built. The Monasteries, Cities and Towns, the Merchants and Gentlemen in every District throughout his Dominions, were to pay their Proportion towards the Charge of this Undertaking; and every one's Proportion was to be doubled if it was not compleated by the Time he had fixed for it. They were allowed to appoint Deputies to carry on the Work; and to hire and employ Men to get it done in the best Manner they could, several *Dutchmen* were accordingly made the Agents in this Affair, and every Thing was performed with all the Expedition that the Czar required; but he, reflecting on the Inconvenience of having no Vessels but from Strangers, or those built by such in his own Dominions, resolved on a Way to remedy that for the future; and declared his Intentions to travel while his Fleet was preparing. He likewise appointed some of the Prime of his young Nobility, and the Sons of others, to travel into different Parts of *Europe*; and, as he was a good Judge of all Sorts of Men, and their Capacities, gave them Instructions particularly what they ought to study that was most suitable to their Parts and Genius. Some of these Gentlemen obeyed with a very ill Will, and it is said, that one of them locked himself up in his House at *Venice* for four Years, that, at his Return, he might have the Satisfaction of not having seen or learnt any Thing.

The Czar, it is thought, besides the Design of improving these young Gentlemen, had another View in thus dispersing them, which was to prevent any Danger from their meeting together in his Absence; but notwithstanding all his Precaution, he found a great Number of Malecontents who caused great Disturbances both before and after his Departure.

The

The *Muscovites* were great Enemies to all Innovations, and this Ship-building was a Thing entirely new to them, who had never seen a Ship till his Time; but, above all, their being put to the Expence of it, and their being forced to send their Sons to travel, were look'd upon as most terrible Acts of Oppression, and occasion'd great Uneasinesses, which were not a little fomented by the Priests, who took Care to insinuate among the People, that this would be a great Means of corrupting the young Nobility in the Principles of their Religion. Nay, they positively affirm'd it to be contrary to the Laws of God, who had forbid the Children of *Israel* to have any Communion with the Nations that were round about them, that they might not partake of their Idolatry. Not even the Envoys sent to Foreign Courts, were allowed, in former Times, to take their own Sons with them, and, as I have before mentioned, it was forbid, upon Pain of Death, that any *Muscovite* should go out of his own Country without special Leave of the Czar or *Patriarch*. It is no Wonder that People with these confined and narrow Notions should murmur at the Czar's shewing so great a Regard to Strangers, going daily to their Houses, admitting them freely to his Conversation, and now preparing to leave his own Country. He had likewise form'd another Project, which he had mentioned to some of his Boyars, and had actually employ'd a Person about it; this was to make a navigable Canal between the *Volga* and *Tanais*, by which he might convey Provisions and Materials for a Fleet at *Azoph*; but this Design, as grand and useful as it was, some of the indolent and stupid *Russians* represented as a piece of Impiety, being, as they said, to turn the Streams one Way, which Providence had directed another.

The dreadful Apprehensions the People had of the ill Consequences that would attend these Things, gave a good Opportunity to the discontented Party among the Boyars, who were still in the Prince's

Sophia's

Sophia's Interest, to attempt something that might give a Turn to the Affairs of State, and put the Government again into their own Hands. With these Views a Conspiracy was form'd, wherein it was agreed, to fire some Houses near the Czar's Palace, and to assassinate him, when, according to Custom, he should come out to assist in extinguishing the Flames. That is, they were to murder him, at the very Instant he was shewing the tender Regard he had for the Lives of his Subjects. They resolved next to release the Princess *Sophia* out of Prison, and put the Crown on her Head; after which they were to restore the *Strelitzes*, who had been removed from their Posts, on Account of the Rebellion, headed by *Courvanski*, at the Time of the Czar *Theodore's* Death. And next they were to massacre all Foreigners, and the Czar's new Favourites; who, they imagined, put him upon taking these extraordinary Measures.

Three great Lords, one Colonel of the *Don-Cossacks*, and several Officers of the *Strelitzes* were engaged in this Plot, which was to have been put in Execution on the 2d of *February* 1697, but the very Day before, two Captains of the *Strelitzes*, discoursing together, and being each touched with a Remorse of Conscience, resolved to discover the whole Design; accordingly they went and threw themselves at his Majesty's Feet, at the House of his Favourite M. *Le Fort*, and made an ample Confession of the whole Business, and gave in the Names of the principal Persons concerned in it.

The Czar immediately rose from Table, without discovering any Surprise in his Countenance, and, taking only a few Persons with him, went himself and seized on the Chiefs of the Conspirators, among whom he found one of his own Privy Council; they were presently put to the Torture, and, having confessed their Crimes, were soon after executed; each of the Criminals had first his right Arm and left Leg cut off, then his left Arm and right Leg; and afterwards his Head severed from his Body,
and

and stuck, with the rest, on Spikes at the Top of a Column erected for that Purpose, in the great Market Place before the Gates of the Castle, their Legs and Arms hanging like Trophies about the Column, and their Bodies left exposed in the Market Place, without Burial, till the Frost broke, and then to prevent their being offensive, by their Stench, to the Inhabitants, they were flung into a Pit among the executed Bodies of common Thieves and Malefactors.

The Czar, having punished the Heads of this Conspiracy, began to prepare for his Journey; he sent *M. Le Fort*, now made a Lieutenant General in his Army and Admiral of his Fleet, together with Count *Gellewin* General and Governor of *Siberia*, and *M. Wofrifetfyn*, Privy Counsellor and Secretary of State, his Ambassadors Extraordinary to the *States General* of *Holland*, and went himself *incognito* in their Train, that he might have the better Opportunity of making his Observations, without being embarrassed with the Ceremonies he was to expect, if he had made himself known; he likewise took with him some of his particular Favourites, among whom were the Son of the Prince *Sibirsky* and young *Menzikoff*, and some young Gentlemen, whom he designed to have instructed in the Art of Ship-building; to gain a perfect Knowledge in which was the chief Design of his Travels.

During his Absence, he left the Administration of the Government to three of his Boyars. The first was his Uncle *Naraskin*, his Mother's Brother; the second, Prince *Galliczin*, who was again restored to Favour; and the third, the Lord *Peter Procorofsky*; to these three Lords he intrusted the Management of all his Affairs at Home, and the Care of his Son, the Czarewitz *Alexis*. He ordered an Army of about 12,000 Soldiers, commanded by General *Gordon*, most of the Officers of which were Foreigners, to be quartered about the Suburbs of *Moscow*, to keep that City in awe. He sent the suspected *Stre-*
litzes

litizes to the Frontiers of *Turky*, under the Command of General *Schein*, who had the Management of the War on that Side.

Having thus settled the Government at Home ; in the Month of *May* 1697, began his Journey, and set out with the Grand Embassy. The first Place, of any Note, that they came to, was the City of *Riga*, the principal Town, and Key to the whole Country of *Livonia*.

This City, built at the Mouth of the River *Duna*, is large, having nine Gates, the chief of which, called *Carle-Port*, is adorned with the Busto of *Charles* the Eleventh, King of *Sweden*. At this Entrance, on the left Hand, is a Range of Caserns, for Soldiers to lodge in, a hundred Paces in length, which are Bomb-Proof ; the whole Town, then in the Hands of the *Swedes*, is regular and well fortified ; and the Citadel strong and well built.

The Governor here paid great Respect to the Embassy, but refusing to show the Fortifications to *Menzikoff* and General *Le Fort*, with whom the Czar intended to have satisfied his own Curiosity, he was so much incensed, that he said to his Favourites : *He hoped he should see the Day, when he should be able to refuse the same Thing to the King of Sweden himself.* And this was afterwards, in a Manifesto he published, given as one Reason, tho' certainly no very good one, for declaring War with the *Swedes* ; but, when Princes have an Inclination to quarrel, the slightest Pretexs are sufficient, while the real Motives are not proper to be divulged.

His Czarish Majesty came next to *Koningsberg*, in the Dominions of the King of *Prussia*, then only Elector of *Brandenburg*. This City is divided into three Parts, called *Koningsberg*, *Kniphoff*, and *Lobnitz*, in all which are nine Churches, besides Chapels. The Cathedral is large ; here is an Academy, which has produced considerable Men in every Science ; and a Library well replenished with Books. The Town is defended by a good Castle, that commands the

the Harbour, and in which there are never less than a whole Regiment in Garrison.

The Ambassadors, with a Train of three hundred Persons, first stopt at *Laut*, within a Mile of the City, to which Place the Elector of *Brandenbourg* immediately sent *M. Dankleman* to compliment them in his Name, and accompany them into the City. After Dinner, *M. Besser*, the Master of the Ceremonies arrived at the same Place also, with a great Company of Nobility to conduct them.

About four in the Afternoon, their Excellencies, in one of the Elector's Coaches, with Messieurs *Dankleman* and *Besser* made their publick Entry in the following Manner.

First his Electoral Highness's led Horses, to the Number of forty.

Secondly, an Officer attended by the Kettle-Drums of the Guards, and three Troops of the Body Guards cloathed in Red.

Next, the chief Nobility of *Prussia*, in twenty-six Coaches, and six Horses.

Then, two of the Elector's Coaches, and one of the Margrave *Albert's*. After these, the King's Pages two and two, with a Page of the Ambassadors between them, in red Liveries, laced with Gold. Next, the chief Ministers and Officers of the Elector's Household in thirty-six Coaches. Seventhly, the first Kettle-Drum, and the first Trumpet belonging to his Electoral Highness, followed by the Ambassadors Foot-Guards, clad in Green, with each a Silver Battle-Axe upon his Shoulder. Then, thirty of the Ambassadors Horse-Guards in the same Livery, but without Battle-Axes. Ninthly, the State-Coach wherein their Excellencies were seated: And lastly, the March was closed with twelve Coaches filled with *Muscovite* Gentlemen and *Brandenburghers*. Their Excellencies were conducted in this Manner to a magnificent Lodging provided for them in the *Kniphoff*, the Burghers being drawn out, and lining the Streets, in a double

File,

File, all the Way. The Garrison of the City stood to receive them at the Entrance into their Lodging, while they were saluted by a triple Discharge of the great Guns. As soon as they alighted they were conducted to their Apartment; which was guarded by twenty-four Soldiers; and then the Lords of the Court, together with M. *Dankleman*, and the Master of the Ceremonies, left them; and the Ambassadors waited on them back to the Stairs-head.

Four Days after, the Ambassadors had their Publick Audience of the Elector, to which they were conducted by M. *Dankleman*, and the Master of the Ceremonies, before-named, with a Train of thirty Coaches; and thirty Persons went before their Excellencies carrying the Czar's Presents to the Elector. The Ambassadors, richly habited in Cloth of Gold and Silver, embroidered with precious Stones, enter'd the great Hall of the Castle, where the Elector was seated on a Throne, attended by the principal Lords of his Court; they made their Bows, and after they had every one in their Order complimented his Electoral Highness, in short Speeches, they delivered him the Presents, and a Letter in which the Czar told him, that he had sent that Embassy to assure him of his Desire to improve the Affection and good Correspondence which had always been, as well between his Electoral Highness and himself, as between their illustrious Ancestors. That the same Embassy being from thence to proceed to the Court of *Vienna*, in order to farther Consultations and Propositions for the Continuance of the War against the *Turks* and *Tartars*, his Czarish Majesty therefore requested the Elector to assist them in their Journey; withal returning his Electoral Highness Thanks for the Engineers and Bombers which he sent him the last Year, and which had been so useful to him in the Siege of *Azoph*.

To all which, the Elector answered, that he was much obliged to the Czar for the Assurance of his good

good Intentions, and the splendid Embassy he had sent to him. And then M. *Dankleman* returned an Answer more at large, and very obligingly, to the Compliments of the several Ambassadors, who were after that re-conducted to their Lodgings with the same Ceremonies, and treated with a very magnificent Repast at the Elector's Expence. The same Evening, they were also entertained with a Show of Fire-Works, which lasted till Midnight. The Presents they brought the Elector of *Brandenbourg* consisted of Sables, Ermins, and other rich Furs, several flower'd Silks and Tissues of Gold and Silver, and other precious Rarities, valued, in all, at seventy-five thousand Crowns.

In this City his Czarish Majesty had all the Respect paid to him that he desired, and, having discovered himself to the Elector, his Yachts were ordered to attend him, and nothing was deny'd to him that he had an Inclination to see or have, either to satisfy his Curiosity or afford him any Convenience or Pleasure, and having so agreeable an Opportunity to indulge himself in a Recreation which he much delighted in, he staid here some Time, and diverted himself with sailing on the *Haff*, a Lake of about 30 Leagues in Length; lying between *Koninsberg* and *Dantzick*.

It was in his Way to *Koningsberg*, that his Majesty received an Express, with Advice, that the Elector of *Saxony* was chosen King of *Poland*, but that the Cardinal Primate had protested against the said Election, in favour of the Prince of *Conti*, who, with a Squadron of *French* Men of War, then lay before *Dantzick*, in a threatening Manner, notwithstanding which, the Town declared for his Rival King *Augustus*. The Czar, as soon as he received this Advice, sent Orders to his Ambassadors, then residing in *Poland*, to maintain the Right of Election; and to assure King *Augustus*, that he had 60,000 Men in Readiness to serve him, and support his just Pretensions to the Crown. He likewise sent Orders to his Troops in the *Ukrain*, and about *Smolensko*,

to advance towards the Frontiers of *Lithuania*, to keep that great Duchy in his Interest. The favourable Interposition of so powerful a Prince as the Czar, it is thought had a very great Influence on the *Poles* at this Time; but was a Step that the Court of *France* could never forgive. However, he had good Reason for what he did, for *France* being in Alliance with the *Turk*, if their Party had prevailed, and they could have given a King to *Poland*, it was very probable that he would not only have made Peace with the *Porte*, but have turned his Arms against the Czar.

Taking leave of *Koninsberg*, the next Place his Majesty arrived at was *Dantzick*. This City is the Capital of *Polish Pomerania*, and distant 145 Miles from *Warsaw*. It lies about four Miles from the Sea, upon a Branch of the *Vistula* or *Weissel*, and is accounted one of the chief *Hans* Towns, and greatest trading Cities in *Europe*. It is encompassed by a Wall so broad, that Coaches can easily go round upon it, and the Fortifications are of a vast Extent; but, being commanded by two Hills on the South-West, cannot hold out a brisk Siege. The chief Trade of the City is in Corn from *Poland*, and it is computed that they export, one Year with another, about 730,000 Tons of Wheat. It is the Granary of *Holland* and the Northern Countries. They have a great Number of Mills for grinding Corn, which bring in great Profits to the City and the Proprietors of them. The Number of Inhabitants in this City were usually reckon'd 200,000. Their constant Number of Soldiers in Pay is only 200, but they can easily maintain 12,000 and have sometimes had an Army of 60,000 Men. One of the Suburbs here is called *Scotland*, and inhabited by *Scots*, all of that Nation being allowed to be Freemen of the City, and have greater Privileges than other Foreigners, in Consideration of the great Service they formerly did the Place, under the Conduct of one of the Family of *Douglas*, at the Time of a Siege, in Memory of which are the Arms

Arms of *Scotland* set over the Gate from whence they sallied upon the Enemy. The established Religion of the City is Protestantism, but they tolerate Roman Catholicks. The Houses are stately, the Churches, of which they have twenty-four in Number, generally magnificent, the chief of them is so large that it has forty-eight Altars, and three thousand seven hundred twenty-two Windows. The Harbour is not deep enough to admit Ships of very great Force to come up to the City, but some of four hundred Tons and forty Guns have been sometimes known to lie there.

In this, and most other maritime Places, his Czarish Majesty had very handsome Presents made to him under the Shew of doing it to the Ambassadors, who were complimented with all the highest Marks of Respect that could be imagined, but his Majesty would suffer no Ceremony to be paid to himself: He went round the Towns privately to view them, attended by the Governor, or some few of the most considerable Persons, but without any Guard, or other Attendance. He had so great a Desire to be in *Holland*, that he tarry'd not long at any of the Sea-Ports in the *Baltick*, and but a few Days at *Hamburg*, which is so fine a City, and notwithstanding the Citizens, who carry on a great Trade to *Arch-Angel*, were very desirous of an Opportunity of rendering their Services acceptable to him.

He travelled not to satisfy a vain Curiosity; to admire the Splendor of foreign Courts; or, like the *Petit Maitres* at Present, to shew the Gaiety of his own Dress and Equipage, nay, so far from the first, he commonly went about in the Jacket of a *Dutch* Skipper, that he might the more easily mix with the Sea-faring People, and get among the Shipping, without being taken Notice of.

When his Majesty approached the Frontiers of the united Provinces, the States-General appointed Deputies to receive the Embassy, with very considerable Presents, and the highest Marks of Honour

nour that could be shewn upon such an Occasion. The Cannon was fired from the Ramparts of all the great Towns through which they passed, the Soldiers were all drawn out, and the Magistrates went in all their Formalities to pay their Compliments. The Streets and Windows at *Amsterdam* were crowded with Spectators, when the Ambassadors enter'd that City, conducted by a great Number of Persons who went out on Horseback, and with splendid Equipages to meet them; at Night there were Illuminations, and fine Fireworks before the House prepared for the Ambassadors, whose Expences the States took upon themselves to defray. The *Dutch* did all this, and a great deal more, to give the Czar *Peter* a favourable Impression of their Country, and used all Methods to induce him to believe them Masters of those Arts that he was most particularly desirous to learn, that they might prevent his entring into Engagements with other Nations, who were their Rivals in the *Russian* Trade.

Before the Ambassadors arrived at *Amsterdam*, the Czar had left them, and enter'd that City *incognito* accompanied only by a few Merchants, whom he had known at *Moscow*, and who, having private Notice of his coming, went out to meet him. The Magistrates also having some Intimation of it, deputed some considerable Persons to wait upon him, with Offers of all Things necessary and suitable to his Dignity. They also prepared a magnificent House for his Reception; but he was not to be persuaded to accept of it, choosing a little House on the *East-India* Company's Wharf or Ship-yard, where he entered himself as a common Carpenter, and enrolled in the List of their Workmen, by the Name of *Peter Michaelhoff*. Here he lived several Months, with two or three of his Favourites, whom he took to be Partners with him in learning the Art of Ship-building, but was observed to be more industrious, and work with greater Assiduity than any of his Companions, who, as M *Fontenelle* observes,

observes, had indeed not any Motives comparable to his, which was to increase the Wealth and Glory of his Country. He worked for the greatest Part of the Day with a Carpenter's Broad Axe among the Dutchmen, wearing the same Sort of Habit that they did, for the better disguise; and at other Times he would divert himself with sailing and rowing upon the Water: Strict Orders were given, wherever he was, that all Sorts of People should be forbid to disturb or gaze upon him, which was, of all Things, what gave him the greatest Uneasiness.

Notwithstanding this great Reservedness, he would sometimes admit of private Visits from some of the most considerable Persons in *Amsterdam*, and would go sometimes in one Habit and sometimes in another to private Entertainments there, particularly to Burgomaster *Whiston's*, a Gentleman who was vastly rich in Shipping, and famous for his Love of Arts, having sent Persons abroad, at his own Expence, to make Discoveries in all Parts of the World; and had likewise been at great Charge in fixing large Telescopes for observing the celestial Bodies. For this Gentleman his Czarish Majesty had a great Value, and with him and two or three more would be very free and merry.

On the 27th of *September* the Ambassadors made their publick Entry at the *Hague*, and, after having had an Audience of King *William III.* as Stadtholder, on the 5th of *October* they went to *Utrecht*, where they were introduced to a publick Audience of the States General; two of the Deputies went to conduct them from their Houses, and two more received them without the grand Hall. General *Le Fort*, the chief of the Embassy produced their credential Letters, and made a Speech to their High Mightinesses; Count *Gollowin* spoke likewise; the Audience lasted above half an Hour, during which the Ambassadors, and the States-General, contrary to the usual Custom, stood all the Time.

The Plenipotentiaries of the Emperor, of *Spain*, *Sweden*, *Denmark* and *Brandenburg* paid Visits, which were

were returned by the *Russian* Ministers, but those of *France*, irritated by his Czarish Majesty's having so warmly espoused the Interest of King *Augustus* against the Prince of *Conti*, thought to revenge themselves by not paying them that Respect which seemed their Due. The Embassy remained at the *Hague* till the 30th of *October*, having had their Audience of Leave on the 28th before their Departure for *Amsterdam*: But the Czar himself continued at the *Hague* till the 7th of *November*, that he might have a particular Interview with the King of *England*, on the Design which he had formed of going to *London*, and that Prince did not return thither, from his Country Seat at *Loo*, till that Time, which was at the Conclusion of the Peace of *Ryswick*.

During the Time that his Czarish Majesty was in *Holland*, he received the agreeable News of his Army's having obtained a Victory over the *Turks* and *Tartars*. General *Schein* being arrived before *Azoph*, and having joined the other Generals, their Troops together made up an Army of seventy or eighty thousand Men: They were hardly assembled but they received Advice that the *Tartars*, joining the *Turks*, and thinking themselves superior to the *Russians* in Numbers, were marching towards them, with Intent to give them Battle. The Sultan *Galga* appeared, on the 30th of *July*, at the Head of the *Hordes* of *Crimea*, *Nogai*, *Edissanski* and *Cuban* to attack the Army; the General fell upon them immediately, without giving them Time to deliberate; they sustained the first Shock with a good deal of Vigour, but after the Battle had lasted some Hours they were entirely routed, and drove as far as the River *Halianka*, which they endeavoured to cross in such Disorder, and with so much Precipitation, that the greatest Part of their Army was lost by the Slaughter they received at the Hands of the *Russians* and *Cossacks*, especially the latter, and by the Numbers that were drowned, wounded and taken Prisoners. This Battle lasted above ten Hours, and was the more glorious to the Arms of his Czarish Majesty

in that he lost but few Men, and had not above twenty or thirty Officers of any Distinction wounded.

This Victory was preceded by another Advantage gained at Sea. The *Tartars*, thinking to surprize *Azoph*, had sent a large Number of Half-Galleys, with other Vessels full of Troops to execute their Design: But they found the Governor upon his Guard, as were the vigilant *Cossacks*, who gave them a quite different Reception from what they expected, and the Ships that were under this Fortrefs, chasing the *Turkish* Squadron, took several of their Vessels, and sunk others.

The Body of Troops that were on the Side of the *Nieper* made good Progress likewise, and beat the *Tartars* every Time they came to attack them, which made them so terrible through all the little *Tartary* and even to the *Crimea*, that the *Cham* was resolved to use his utmost Efforts to be delivered from them: For which Reason he hazarded another Battle near *Kassikermen*, in which the *Russians* and *Cossacks* had the same Advantages as in the First; and it cost the *Cham* the Life of one of his Sons, several of the *Turkish* Bathaws were likewise slain in the Battle. These Advantages were followed by the taking and pillaging many little Places belonging to the *Tartars*, which left General *Schein* at Liberty to send a large Detachment of Men to assist at the Canal that was now making between the *Don* and the *Volga*, for a Communication between the *Caspian* and *Black-Sea*.

This Year was every where fatal to the *Turks*, for, besides these Losses on the Side of *Azoph*, and in *Tartary*, the Sultan received the greatest Blow he had felt during his long War in *Hungary*, by the Loss of the famous Battle of *Zenta*, where, in two Hours Time, the Imperial Army, under the Command of Prince *Eugene* of *Savoy*, gave him a total Defeat. The Grand Signior commanded on each Side of the *Thiessé*, having laid a Bridge over the River; Prince *Eugene* marched up to him, and
 attacked

attacked his Camp, on the West-Side the River, and, after a short Dispute, broke in, made himself Master of it, and forced all, who lay on that Side, over the River, whither he followed them. In the Action the *Germans* had not above four hundred Men killed, and about one thousand six hundred wounded ; but above twenty thousand *Turks* were killed in the Field, among whom were the Grand Vizier and the Aga of the Janissaries ; ten or twelve thousand were drowned in the *Thiessé*, and six thousand wounded and taken Prisoners, in the Number of the last were twenty-seven Bakhaws, and several Agas.

At the same Time that his Czarish Majesty received this News, he had an Account of the Death of *Charles XI.* King of *Sweden*, in the forty second Year of his Age, and thirty seventh of his Reign, with whom he had lived in good Friendship. This Prince, at his Death, left but one Son, the Hope of his People, and two Daughters, one of whom was marry'd to *Frederick* the fourth, Duke of *Holstein Gottorp*, and the youngest, the present Queen of *Sweden*, was then but in the ninth Year of her Age. *Charles XI.* by his last Will, put off the Majority of his Son *Charles XII.* to the Age of eighteen, and appointed his Mother Regent of the Kingdom, during the Minority of her Grandson ; but, as the Laws of *Sweden* had fixed the Majority of their Kings to the Age of fifteen, which the young King was already arrived at, the States assembled at *Stockholm*, thought proper to change this Disposition, and the King's Majority being declared, he was crowned the same Year.

The Czar continued at *Amsterdam*, till the middle of *January*, and then embarked, at *Helvoetsluys*, for *London*. While his Majesty was in *Holland*, he had seen several *English* built Ships, whose Beauty and Proportion pleased him much better than the *Dutch* Ships, and understanding likewise that the *English* worked by Plan and Rule, while the People of *Holland* knew very little of the

Theory of Ship-building, he resolved to come over hither, that he might improve his Knowledge therein to the utmost Perfection. Upon an Intimation of this Intention, King *William* presently sent him his Compliments, and several Cooks and other Servants were appointed to attend him and his Retinue, who were all honourably entertained at the King's Charge, the whole Time, which was some Months, that he staid in *England*, and also in his Passage over from *Holland* and back again. A handsome House was provided for him at the Bottom of *York-Buildings* near the Water-Side; he had several Interviews with the King, and her late Majesty, then Princess *Anne* of *Denmark*, and several of the *English* Nobility; but he was more pleased with the Conversation of the then Marquiss of *Carmarthen*, afterwards Duke of *Leeds*, than with any other, for the Inclinations of that Nobleman were in many Things agreeable to his own; like him he delighted in maritime Affairs, and would row and sail with him on the Water; and gave him all the Information he could into the Knowledge of Shipping.

During his Stay in *England*, he went to see the University of *Oxford*; was once to pay a Visit to the Archbishop of *Canterbury*, at his Palace at *Lambeth*, and went many Times to see our Cathedrals and Churches, to observe the Order of our established Religion, and had also the Curiosity to view our Quakers and other Dissenters Meeting Houses in the Time of their Service. Bishop *Burnet* * says, " he waited on him often, and was ordered, both " by the King and the Archbishop and Bishops, to " attend upon him, and to offer him such Informations of our Religion and Constitution as he " was willing to receive: I had good Interpreters, " continues the Bishop, so I had much free Discourse " with him. He is a Man of a very hot Temper, " soon inflamed, and very brutal in his Passion; " he

* *Hist. of his own Times, Vol. II. P. 221, 222.*

“ he raises his natural Heat by drinking much
 “ Brandy, which he rectifies himself with great
 “ Application; he is subject to convulsive Motions
 “ all over his Body, and his Head seems to be af-
 “ fected with these: He wants not Capacity, and
 “ has a larger Measure of Knowledge, than might
 “ be expected from his Education, which was very
 “ indifferent; a Want of Judgment, with an Insta-
 “ bility of Temper, appears in him too often, and
 “ too evidently: He is mechanically turned, and
 “ seems designed by Nature rather to be a Ship-
 “ Carpenter, than a great Prince: This was his chief
 “ Study and Exercise, while he stayed here: He
 “ wrought much with his own Hands, and made
 “ all about him work at the Models of Ships; he
 “ told me, he designed a great Fleet at *Azoph*, and
 “ with it to attack the *Turkish* Empire; but he did
 “ not seem capable of conducting so great a De-
 “ sign, though his Conduct in his Wars since this,
 “ has discovered a greater Genius in him, than ap-
 “ peared at that Time: He was desirous to under-
 “ stand our Doctrine, but he did not seem disposed
 “ to mend Matters in *Muscovy*: He was indeed re-
 “ solved to encourage Learning, and to polish his
 “ People, by sending some of them to travel in other
 “ Countries, and to draw Strangers to come and
 “ live among them: He seemed apprehensive still
 “ of his Sister’s Intrigues: There is a Mixture both
 “ of Passion and Severity in his Temper. He is
 “ resolute, but understands little of War, and
 “ seemed not at all inquisitive that Way. After
 “ I had seen him often, and had conversed much
 “ with him, I could not but adore the Depth of
 “ the Providence of God, that had raised up such a
 “ furious Man, to so absolute an Authority over so
 “ great a Part of the World.

I shall go no farther, because the good Bishop’s
 Zeal seems to transport him a little beyond the
 Bounds of sound Judgment. There is no Occasion
 to make any other Remarks on the Character he
 has here given of that great Prince than this, that

Matters of Fact contradict Part of what he has said, a Part he has contradicted himself, even in the same Breath almost that he utters it, and the Rest may be true.

His Czarish Majesty, while he stayed at *London*, went to view the Tower, where he seemed much pleased with our Armoury, and with the Manner of coining Money. He was shewn the two Houses of Parliament, when Sitting; and was prevailed upon twice or thrice to go to the Play, tho' this was a Diversion he had no Taste for; yet it was whisper'd about, that one of the Actresses, Miss *Cross*, had found the Way to please him, and had been once admitted into his Company. His Majesty used to dress after the *English* Fashion, sometimes like a Gentleman, and sometimes like a Sailor; he went abroad with little Attendance, and when the Mob had found out who he was, and began to gaze at him, he would always quit the Place where he was.

A House in *London*, especially above Bridge, being neither agreeable to his Humour, nor the Design of his coming to *England*, a very neat one was fitted up for him, belonging to Mr. *Evelyn*, with a back Door into the King's Yard at *Debtford*, where he would often take up the Carpenter's Tools, and work with them; he frequently conversed with the Builders, who shewed him their Draughts, and the Method of laying down by Proportion any Ship or Vessel, of what Body soever they required, with the Rule for moulding and building a Ship, according as laid down in such Draught; with which his Majesty was wonderfully pleased, and this he found practised every where, in the Merchants, as well as in the King's Yards; seeing with how much more Skill our People work'd, than the Ship-builders in *Holland*, he thought he had mispent all the Time he was there, and used to say he should never have learned his Trade, if he had not come to *England*.

The King sent Admiral *Mitchel* along with him to *Portsmouth*, to put the Fleet out to Sea, which
lay

lay at *Spithead*, and on Purpose to entertain him with a mock Engagement, which he had seen also in *Holland*, but not near so much to his Satisfaction as this ; which gave him so great Pleasure, that he declared he thought an *English* Admiral a happier Man than a *Czar of Muscovy*. In short, he approved so well of all he had seen in *England* relating to our Shipping, that he resolved to have nothing but *English* built Ships in his Country, and thereupon took several *English* Ship-builders and Artificers into his Service, to be employ'd in the Navy he was about to establish. He likewise took other ingenious Workmen of different Kinds to be sent into *Muscovy*, among the rest Captain *John Perry* was recommended to him, by the Marquis of *Carmarthen* and others, as a Person capable of serving him in several of his Designs, particularly in that of making a Communication between the Rivers *Volga* and *Don*, before mentioned.

The Distance of this Communication is about one hundred and forty *Russ* Miles, by Way of two other small Rivers, the one called the *Lafla*, which falls into the *Don*; the other the *Camishinska*, which falls into the *Volga*; upon these two small Rivers Sluices were to be placed to make them navigable, and a Canal, of near four *Russ* Miles, to be cut through the dry Land, where the two small Rivers came nearest to one another. When the *Russians* are in Possession of *Azoph*, this must be of great Advantage to their Country, especially in Case of any War with the *Turks* or *Crim Tartars*, or with *Persia*, or any of the Countries bordering on the *Caspian Sea*:

The Work was first began by one Colonel *Breckell*, a *German*, who was a Colonel in the *Czar's* Army, and who had the Reputation of a very good Engineer as to Fortifications, and the like; but understanding very little of this Business, the first Sluice he placed blew up, therefore he came to *Moscow*, and having obtained a Pass, as for a Ser-

vant to be sent for Materials for the Work, he made use of it himself, and so escaped out of the Country. The Czar had an Account of this while he was in *England*, and sent Captain *Perry* before named, to examine if the Work was practicable or not; which proved so, and is since finished; but *Azoph* having been retaken by the *Turks*, the great Usefulness and Advantage from the Undertaking has not been so well known as perhaps they may be now, that her present Imperial Majesty of *Russia* has again made it a Part of her Empire.

While the Czar was here, some considerable Merchants of *London* entered into a Treaty with him, which was managed by *Menzikoff* and *Gollowin*, for a free Importation of Tobacco into his Dominions; and they paid him twelve thousand Pounds, immediately upon signing the Contract; but he made one Condition, that it should be first licensed by the Marquiss of *Carmarthen*; this he did as an Acknowledgment of the Kindness he had receiv'd from him, and in Return for his obliging Conversation. The Benefit accruing to that Lord from this Agreement was five Shillings for every Hogshead of Tobacco, which the Patriarch had before prohibited in *Russia*, as an irreligious and unclean Thing, and to this Day no Priest will smook, or come into a Room where Tobacco is smoking.

At a Meeting which the Merchants before-mentioned had with the Czar the late Sir *Gilbert Heathcote*, then Mr. *Heathcote*, Master of the *Eastland* Company, observed to him, that he feared the Aversion which the Priests had to Tobacco, would be a great Impediment to their Trade, to which the Czar answered, *That he would do well enough with them when he went home.*

Notwithstanding Bishop *Burnet* says, that *he* did not seem disposed to mend Matters in Muscovy, (in religious Affairs he means) yet this Answer to Mr. *Heathcote* shews, that he had formed such a Design, and it is very well known that he put it in Execution.

When

1698. When the Czar left *England*, King *William* gave him leave to take any of his Subjects into his Service, that he should have Occasion for; and made him a Present of a fine Yacht, called the Royal Transport, the best then in *England*, it carried twenty-four Guns, and was contrived by the Marquis of *Carmarthen*, for the King to pass between *England* and *Holland*, during the Time of the War. He took with him one Mr. *Fergharson*, an ingenious Mathematician, bred in the University of *Aberdeen*, and two young Mathematicians out of *Christ-Church Hospital*, who with the Ship-Builders and several other Artificers were sent to *Arch-Angel*, the greatest Part of them in the fine Yacht.

His Czarish Majesty from hence went back again to *Holland*, and from thence to the Court of *Vienna*, where the next Day after his Arrival he had a private Audience of the Emperor *Leopold* at the Palace *de la Faveurita*. He entered by a Pair of Back Stairs, and his Imperial Majesty received him at the Door of the Anti-chamber. After the first Compliments, the Emperor put on his Hat, but seeing the Czar refused to be covered, because he was *Incognito*, his Imperial Majesty uncover'd also. No Body was present at this Interview, but the Count *de Valensstein*, grand Chamberlain to the Emperor, and the Count *de Districhstein* his grand Equerry, with General *Le Fort*, who served as the Czar's Interpreter.

A few Days after Count *Stavemberg*, Camp-Marshal General of the Emperor's Armies, and President of the Council of War, gave the Czar and his Ambassadors a magnificent Collation, accompany'd with a Concert of Musick, and after that a noble Ball, where were present the principal Lords and Ladies of the Court. On the ninth of *July*, being the Festival of *St. Peter*, the Name which the Czar receiv'd in Baptism, he himself gave a great Feast and Ball in *Guntersdorf* House, where the Ambassadors were lodged. The Emperor sent him his Musick, and ordered large Fire-Works to be made ready, which

were play'd off in the Evening. The same Day his Imperial Majesty sent a Present, of all manner of Mathematical Instruments, to the Czar, who two Days after went to see the Armoury, the Library, the Pictures, and all the other Rarities of the Imperial Palace. About a Week after this, a great Feast was prepared at the *Favourita*; which began with a Ball, and a Concert of Musick; afterwards a splendid Collation was given to the Company, and then followed another Ball, which lasted till Break of Day. Every Masker was in the Habit of a different Nation, so that almost all the Countries of the World were there represented, and every Prince or Lord had a Lady by his Side, in answerable Habits, of rich Stuff, adorned with large Quantities of Jewels; so that a more magnificent Sight can hardly be imagined.

The Emperor, who represented an Host, with two and thirty Pages habited like Butlers, drank in a curious Glass to the Country-man of *Ost Frise's* Health, in which Character the Czar appeared, saying, at the same Time, that he knew well his extraordinary Zeal for the Czar of *Muscovy*; and, on the other Side, the Country-man of *Ost Frise* drank the Health of the Host in disguise, saying, That he was not ignorant of his inviolable Affection for the Emperor of *Germany*. After which his Imperial Majesty made a Present of the Glass to the Countryman of *Ost Frise*, desiring him to preserve it carefully in Memory of the Healths drank in such good Company.

Upon the 29th of *July* the Grand Embassy had their publick Audience; to which they were conducted, in a very magnificent Manner, and were treated very splendidly at the Emperor's Expence.

Whilst the Czar was thus on his Travels, conciliating to himself the Affections of the greatest Powers of *Europe*; making Observations, and learning Arts for the Improvement of his Country, Intelligence coming frequently to *Moscow*, that he was

was extremely pleased with what he met with in foreign Countries, especially in *England*; that he was sending a great Number of Officers, Artificers, and all Sorts of Strangers among them; and that he intended to make great Alterations in his own Affairs, as soon as he came home, the discontented Party, who were in the Interest of the Princess *Sophia*, took a Handle from thence to infuse strong Jealousies into the Minds of the People, which were greatly fomented by the Priests, that his Majesty would subvert their Holy Religion; and, by bringing Foreigners among them, designed to oppress his natural Subjects, and quite change the antient Establishment both in Church and State; upon which a Conspiracy was formed to declare the Throne vacant, by his Absence, to set his Sister free from her Confinement, and place her thereon in his Stead.

The *Strelitzes* knew very well that they had lost the Czar's Favour, and about ten Thousand of these sent into Winter Quarters on the Confines of *Lithuania*, about five hundred Miles from *Moscow*, had agreed to join the Conspirators, and the better to colour their Design, they were to make some Complaint concerning their Pay, and march away directly; but the Regency, appointed by the Czar at his Departure, hearing of their Motion, sent at first several Persons to endeavour to pacify them by fair Means, who offered them not only all their present Pay and Arrears, but six Months Pay advance, and used all Means to prevail with them to return and join the other Forces, who were very soon, the Time of the Campaign drawing near, to form an Army against the *Turks*: But they would listen to no Proposals, they said, till they had been at *Moscow*, to see their Friends, from whom they had been so long banished, and would likewise inform themselves what was become of the Czar, not knowing whether he was dead or alive.

Upon

Upon hearing an Account of this ill Success of the Deputies, sent by the Regency, the whole City was in a great Consternation, many Persons of Condition left *Moscow*, and retired into the Country, dreading what might happen upon the Approach of these Troops, and the Revolt of others, and having seen the terrible Havock and Devastation that was made by these very *Strelitzes* in their Rebellion, but a few Years before ; to prevent any Insurrection, and put a stop to the Dangers that were threatened, General *Gordon* was ordered to march against the Mutineers, with his Army ; which had been many Times in Action with him, and which consisted of old Soldiers for the most Part, and foreign Officers. They came up with the Rebels about forty Miles from *Moscow*, near the *Jerusalem* Monastery, from whence the General sent some Noblemen, who came out with him as Volunteers, and several Officers, to offer them honourable Satisfaction, if they would return to their Duty ; but they very obstinately persisted in their first Resolution of coming to *Moscow*, to know, as they pretended, whether the Czar was living or dead ; and declared, that if his General lead his Army against them, although it was double their Number, they would oppose him at all Hazards.

General *Gordon*, receiving this Answer, ordered some Canon to be fired over their Heads, to frighten them, and summoned them to surrender ; but the Shot doing no Execution, the Priests took this Advantage to confirm them in their Resolution, and declared, that it was a Miracle, and that the Shot had no Power to hurt them, who were going to fight for the Honour of God, and in Defence of their holy Religion. Thus puffed up with the true Spirit of Enthusiasm, the Rebels gave a great Shout, and ran furiously upon the General's Army ; whereupon a very sharp Engagement ensued, that lasted near two Hours. The Rebels now found, too late, that Miracles were ceased, and having two or three thousand Men killed on the

Spot,

Spot, surrendered themselves Prisoners. The General hang'd up every tenth Man, after the Manner of the *Roman* Decimation, when the Battle was over, and brought the Rest Prisoners to *Moscow*, where several of the Ringleaders, being examined on the Pine, confessed their Crimes, and discovered the principal Persons concerned with them: They owned, that they were to release the Princess *Sophia*, and put the Government into her Hands, to whom they thought of Right it belonged.

When the first Account of this Rebellion came to the Czar, he was at the Court of *Vienna*, where the Emperor, with whom he was in Alliance, had entertained him most magnificently, as is before related; and from thence he was preparing to go to *Venice*, in which State as well at *Rome*, great Preparations were making for his Reception; but this News made him alter his Resolution, and set out directly for *Moscow*, by the Way of *Poland*, where he had a short Interview with King *Augustus*, and it was thought he concerted Measures with that Prince, at this Time, for the War that was soon after declared with *Sweden*, there being a Treaty of Peace then on Foot with the *Turks*, by the Mediation of King *William*.

The Czar set forward with a Train of thirty Persons, among whom were General *Le Fort*, and Count *Gollowin*, but the Diack *Wesrifestyn* was left at *Vienna*, being to assist, as Plenipotentiary, at the Congress of *Carlowitz*. His Majesty proceeded with so much Expedition and Secrecy that he arrived at *Moscow*, to the great Joy of his faithful Friends and Subjects, and to the Terror and Confusion of his Enemies, before it was known in that City that he was on his Journey: The very next Day after his Arrival, he ordered very handsome Rewards to be given to those Soldiers who had been stedfast in their Loyalty, and fought faithfully in his Service; he likewise ordered the principal Agents and Contrivers of the Rebellion to be brought before him; and having fully examined them him-
self

self, before his Boyars, they were all sentenced to Death. Among the Conspirators were Prince *Colin* and General *Romanodoskowski*, with several Ladies of Quality, and many Priests of the first Rank, who had been great Incendiaries among the People, under Pretence of defending the Purity of their Faith and Doctrines. A great Number of the Conspirators were beheaded, some broke upon the Wheel, and others buried alive; above two Thousand of the *Strelitzes* were executed, some had their Heads taken off in the Market Place, and others hang'd upon Gallowses erected for that Purpose, at the Gates of all the Walls that encompass the City. Those who were beheaded were laid in Ranks upon the Ground with their Heads by them, where they were left, as those hanging on the Gates were, all the Winter, and then taken away to prevent the Air's being infected by them. Other Gibbets were set up in the publick Roads leading to *Moscow*, at about two Miles distance, upon which a great Number of the other Rebels were hang'd, and large Monuments of Stone were erected near the same on the Roads, with an Account of their Crimes deeply engraven thereon, and ordered to be repaired, as occasion required, to perpetuate the Memory of them. The very Houses in which they liv'd, were razed to the Ground, and the Name of *Strelitzes* were commanded, from henceforth, to be abolished, and changed into that of *Soldatee*, or Soldiers. Such of the *Strelitzes* as were judged the least guilty had their Lives spared, but were banished to *Siberia*, *Astracan*, *Azoph*, and the farthest Part of the Empire, with their Wives, their Families, and nearest of Kin.

1699. His Majesty, on his Return from his Travels, having punished his Enemies, turned his Thoughts on reforming his Government and People. He began with establishing his Guards, which were those Regiments that were settled in the Room of the *Strelitzes*; he then put his whole Army on a new Footing, and directed a new Manner of disciplining them,

them, agreeable to what he had seen abroad. They were all regularly cloathed, with some small Difference in the Colour and Trimmings of their Cloaths, as is the Custom of other Nations; for till then every one had his Cloaths made after his own Fancy. He ordered an Account to be brought him of all those among the Nobility and Gentry of considerable Estates, who had no Employments, out of whom he made Choice of a great Number; and commanded them to serve as Volunteers in his Army, or go to reside in the Frontier Garrisons; and, having thus ordered Affairs in respect to his Land Forces, he went down to *Veronis* to view the Ships and Gallies himself, that were built by the *Dutch* in his Absence, and to hasten the Equipment of his Fleet that he design'd for the *Black-Sea*.

The City of *Veronis* is situated upon a high Hill, surrounded with a wooden Wall, and divided into three Parts, in one of which, called *Fakatof*, the chief of the *Russian* Merchants have their Abode; there is a great Rope-Walk in this City, and the Powder is kept in subterraneous Magazines without the Wall. Upon the side of the Hill, along the River, there are several Houses, about four hundred Paces in extent, the chief of them belong to the *Russian* Admirals; most of them are over against the Citadel, and those of the Vice-Admiral and other Officers, on the Side of them, and behind these are Streets for those employed in Ship-building. The City stands on the West-side of the River *Veronis*, whose Name it borrows, and the Citadel is on the other Side, to which there is a large Bridge of Communication. The Ditches about it are full of Water. The Citadel is a square Building, with Towers at the four Angles; it has large Apartments in it, and makes a grand Figure without. This is the chief Magazine, wherein are about one hundred and fifty Pieces of Canon, though most of them without Carriages for the more ready transporting them when wanted. The Citadel is defended with Palisadoes in several Places, and filled with a pretty good

good Garrison, as well as the Country about, to withstand the *Tartars*. The Conveniencies for Ship-building are on one Side, and the Store-house on the other, which is a great Building, three Stories high, the two first of Stone, and the other of Wood. Here are many Places full of all Sorts of naval Stores, in each Place apart, even to the Sailors Cloaths, and every Thing else that they can have need of. The Sail-House is on one Side of this Building, and it is computed that there are ten Thousand Souls in this Town.

As soon as his Czarish Majesty came hither, he made the *English*, he brought over, his chief Master Builders, except some few, who were to finish Ships they had begun. He ordered that, for the future, no Ships should be built but after the *English* Models; and, immediately upon his Arrival, put a fifty Gun Ship upon the Stocks, from a Draught he had made himself, and so contrived by an Invention of his own, that if the Keel should be knock'd off, the Vessel would keep tight. When he had proceeded a little Way on this Ship, he left it to be carried on by two young *Russian* Gentlemen, who had travelled with him, and learned the Art of Ship-building in his Company; but ordered them to take Advice from the *English* Ship-builders when they had Occasion. He also left Orders with Vice Admiral *Cruse*, and Rear Admiral *Raes*, and some other Officers, at *Veronis*, whom he had taken into his Service in *Holland*, before he came into *England*, to get those Ships and Gallies that were now built, rigged and ready fitted to be carried down to *Azoph*, whither he intended to go with them in the Spring of the Year, with his Admiral *M. Le Fort*.

His Czarish Majesty had scarce settled the Affairs of his Navy at *Veronis*, before he was hastened to *Moscow*, by a Misfortune that befel him, and indeed it might be accounted so to his whole Country, and this was, the Death of his Favourite *Le Fort*. A Man who had highly deserved all the Honours that he had, or could, confer upon him. The Czar was sensibly

sensibly touched with this Loss, and ordered the most magnificent Pomp to attend his Funeral Obsequies, at which he assisted himself, crying with a loud Voice, *that he had lost his Father.* This great Minister left at his Death, which was but in the 46th Year of his Age, near a Million of *Roubles*, all acquired without Oppression or Corruption; he married into a very rich Family, the Head of which he had saved, as he had several others, from the Rage of his Master. He was *disinterested, humane, just, sober, generous and brave.* Never was Servant more beloved by his Prince, or more deserving it. And, what is not very common with Favourites, he gained his Master's Esteem by his Merit only. Honours bestowed on such Men, reflect Honour on the Prince who is so prudent in his Choice, so wise in his Discernment.

The Pomp that waited on the Funeral of this Great Man, was such as had never before been seen in *Muscovy*, on any the like Occasion.

The Military Ceremonies were the same as were used in the more polite Parts of *Europe.* The Drums and Colours were all covered with Black, the Officers of the three Regiments, of 2500 Men each, who preceded the Hearse, had black Scarves, and their Pikes garnished at Top with Knots of black Ribbon, before whom went several Flutes, and other soft Instruments of Musick, playing the most melancholy Airs; the Czar himself led these three Regiments dress'd in deep Mourning, with his Pike in his Hand; before his Majesty, was carried the Standard with his Arms; he was followed by a Colonel, who carried the General's Staff, and after that two Trumpeters, two Hautboys, and several others, silent on Horseback; next came two Sumpster Horses richly caparisoned; and then a Major-General, before the Ensigns of Honour belonging to the Deceased, laid on black Velvet Cushions embroidered with Gold: His Admiral's Pavilion was carried by two Officers of the Marines, with long black Scarves, and then four Major-Generals and four Colonels

Colonels in deep Mourning were followed by the Scholars of all the Colleges and publick Schools; and five Protestant Ministers, three of the Reformed Religion, and two of the *Ausburg* Confession went before the Corpse, which was in a rich Coffin cover'd with black Velvet adorned with Gold Lace and Fringe, and on the Sides with Silver Plates on which were the Arms of the Deceased, it was carried by twenty eight Colonels, who relieved one another every quarter of an Hour. After the Corpse came Mr. *Peter Le Fort*, the Deceased's Nephew, in a black Cloak with a long Train, accompanied by the Envoys Extraordinary of the Emperor, and the Elector of *Brandenburgh*, followed by four Pages; all the General Officers marched next with 24 of the Princes and Dukes of the *Russian* Empire; the principal Officers, and Captains of the Navy, the Residents of *Sweden*, *Denmark*, and *Brandenburg*, with many of the chief Nobility all in long black Cloaks. After these came the Widow of the Deceased supported by two of the oldest Generals, accompanied by twenty-four Ladies led by Noblemen in deep Mourning. Thousands of People attended the Procession, which was regulated by four Masters of the Ceremonies. The Funeral Sermon was preached by one *Stomphius*, who took, for his Text, Part of the Words of the 8th Chap. of *Ecclesiastes*, ver. 8. *There is no Man hath Power in the Day of Death; and there is no Discharge in that War.*

The Czar himself was present while the Funeral Sermon was preached, in one of the reformed Churches, and afterwards went with the Body to the Place of Interment, where it was deposited in a vaulted Tomb, under a Discharge of forty Pieces of Cannon and the Muskets of all the Regiments, followed by several Pieces of solemn Musick: Here the Funeral Oration was pronounced by Dr. *Stomphius* aforesaid, after which were repeated a second and third Salvo of the Artillery and Muskets, and then the Company returned, in the

the same Order they came, to the mourning Palace of the Deceased, where a magnificent Collation was prepared, according to the Custom of the Country.

This melancholy Office over, his Majesty now began to regulate the Affairs of his Government ; he chose a new set of Lords to be of his Council : And, that he might do Honour to some of those who had faithfully served him, he instituted the Order of *St. Andrew*, which was the first Order of Knighthood ever known in that Country ; and it seemed, says *M. de la Motraye*, as if he intended it to be the Epoch, or Date, of those Projects he had in View, and which the World has since seen him put in Execution. He could not, says the same Author, have bestowed a more venerable and agreeable Name on this Order, to the *Russians*, because they have a standing Tradition, that the Apostle *St. Andrew* planted the Cross among them. The Collar of the Order is a blue Ribbon, to which there hangs a Cross with the Image of that Saint, and these two Letters, S. A. surmounted by an Eagle, and the Sovereign's Name engraven thereon. Prince *Menzikoff* was the first on whom he conferr'd it.

The Czar's Ministers, at the Treaty of *Carlowitz*, before this, had concluded a Truce with the *Turks* for two Years ; but the Emperor, the King of *Poland*, and the *Venetians*, having agreed on Preliminaries for a perpetual Peace, the Czar wrote to King *William*, who was Mediator at the said Treaty, to get the Truce prolonged for him ; he, accordingly, sent Directions to the Lord *Paget*, his Ambassador at the *Porte*, to take the same Care of the Czar's Affairs as of the rest of the Princes of Christendom, by which Means the Czar's Truce was prolonged for twenty-five Years, much to his Satisfaction : And the very next Day after the Ratification of it, he declared War with the young King of *Sweden* : As about the same time, had the Kings of *Poland* and *Denmark*, who were in Alliance with

with the Czar. It must be confessed, that these three powerful Princes joining together to fall upon *Charles XII.* at one Time, who was then not eighteen Years of Age, had something so ungenerous in it, as seemed to justify the Revenge he afterwards took upon them; but the Rashness and Impetuosity with which he pursued it, proved fatal to himself and his Country.

Whatever the Czar's Pretences were for entering into this War, the true Motive was, the Hopes he had of recovering *Ingria*, which had formerly belonged to *Muscovy*, till taken by the great *Gustavus Adolphus*. The Czar, by possessing this Province, would be enabled to have a Port on the East Side of the *Baltick*, to compleat his great Design of opening new Ways between that and the *Euxine* and *Caspian* Seas, and from those to the Northern Ocean, which was to be done by cutting Canals to unite the Rivers *Volga*, *Tanais*, and *Dwina*. He had likewise Pretensions to the Province of *Livonia*, which tho' he would not have liked to have seen in the Possession of the *Poles*, yet he was willing to assist them to take it from the *Swedes*.

While the Czar's Army and Fleet were preparing for the ensuing War, he began his intended Reformation in the Church and State; in the Manners, Customs, and even the Dress of his People: But that the Reader may the better apprehend what he undertook, it may not be improper to make him acquainted with the former State of these Affairs.

The *Muscovite* Religion is properly that of the *Greek Church*, in many Things differing from the *Roman* and reformed Churches. They receive the Eucharist in both Kinds; observe four Lents, and have Service daily in their Churches. The great Devotion of the *Muscovites* lies in assisting at Masses, which the Priests begin at Midnight; they repeat the *Miserere*, which they call *Hospidi Pomilio*, a hundred Times over, and the Priest who can say it ofteneft in a Breath is look'd upon at the best Man among them. Before the Time of *Peter I.* it was a
very

very extraordinary Thing to meet with any one among the Clergy, who knew any Language but his own, nor was there any College for educating those set apart for the Duties of Religion, the *Russians* never regarding from whence they took their Priests, which they did sometimes from the very meanest and most mechanical Trades. Nay, such Enemies were they to Learning, that a Press with Letters being once sent from *Poland* to *Moscow*, a Printing-House was erected by the Approbation of one of the former Czars; but the Building was set Fire to in the Night, and burnt to the Ground, by the Procurement, as it was generally supposed, of the Priests, who looked upon all Books, but such as treated of their own History, and the Miracles of their Saints, as dangerous as Witchcraft.

The *Muscovites* love to build Churches, and whenever a Boyar built an House, he used to raise a Chapel, and maintain in it as many Monks as he could afford. They had many large Monasteries possessed by Monks and Friars, which had considerable Revenues in Land and Houses belonging to them. They paid Adoration to many Saints, had a great Number of Holidays, and much of their Religion consisted in Ceremonies.

Of all their Saints, *St. Nicholas* was in greatest Veneration among them, and to him they paid the same Respect as to God himself, often crying, a Thing will happen so or so if it please *St. Nicholas*: But the most absurd of all Miracles that ever was invented, was what they attributed to *St. Anthony*, who, as they said, came all the Way to *Novogorod*, by Water on a Mill-Stone, sailing down the *Tyber* to *Civita Vecchia*, from thence passing through several Seas to the Mouth of the *Neva*, then went up that, and, crossing the Lake *Ladoga* into the *Volcoss*, arriv'd at the City before named. Besides this extraordinary Voyage, he wrought several other Miracles as soon as he landed, where the Monastery now stands that is dedicated to him; one was, to order a Company of Fishermen to cast their Nets into the Sea,
which

which having done, they immediately drew up, with a great Quantity of Fish, a large Trunk containing several Church Ornaments, sacred Utensils and priestly Vestments for celebrating the *Liturgy*, which the *Russians* believe, as well as the Eastern *Greeks*, was first performed at *Rome* in the same Manner and with the same Ceremonies as they themselves use at this Time; the People tell you farther, that he built himself a little Cell, in which he ended his Days. In this Place there now stands a Chapel, in which they say he was buried, and that his Body remains as uncorrupted and intire as at the Instant of his Death. Over the Door of the Cell the Monks shew a Mill-Stone, which they endeavour to make the ignorant People believe, is the very same that the Saint failed upon from *Rome*, and to which great Devotions were once paid, and many Offerings made, till the Time that *Peter* the Great made himself sovereign Pontiff, as will be mentioned hereafter. Pictures and Images of their Saints, they used likewise to have in great Abundance in their Houses; and the *Muscovites* were so superstitious, that if any one had to do with a Woman, and any of the Images of their Saints were in the Room, they would take care to cover them, that they might not be Witnesses of their Actions.

Among their Holidays, *Easter* is a Festival of great Joy to the *Muscovites*, not only on Account of the most inestimable Blessing that it is to commemorate, but as it puts an End to their longest and severest Lent; on the *Easter-Sunday*, and for a Fortnight after, it is a Custom among them, to present Eggs to one another, which are coloured, for that Purpose, some red, some blue, some green, and others, for the better Sort of People, finely painted, and sold for two or three Rixdollars a Piece. When two Friends meet in the *Easter-Holidays*, they present each other with these, and joining Hands in a solemn Manner, one says, CHRISTOS WOS CHREST, *Christ is risen*; and the other answers, WOISTING WOS CHREST, *Yea*

he is truly risen. Some of their coloured Eggs have likewise the same Words written on them, which, when offered, there is no one of what Sex or Condition soever, refuses.

The most pompous of all their Ceremonies was that of *Palm-Sunday*; which was wont to be performed in the following Manner. A hundred Men were ordered to clean the Streets before the Procession began. The Czar himself marched on Foot, richly dress'd in Cloth of Gold, the Train of his Robe borne up by Princes, and all the Court waiting on him. The first that went before him was the Officer that carried his Handkerchief, lying on another embroidered all over, which hung on his Arm, the Servants of his Household going before him. In this Order they proceeded to the Church, called *Jerusalem*; but stopt, by the Way, at a Place built with Free-Stone, in the Manner of a Platform, where he said his Prayers, bent his Body almost double turning towards the East, and then entered the Church of *Jerusalem*, which is not far off.

He used to stay there an Hour, and then returned to his Palace, holding on his Arm the Bridle of the *Patriarch's* Horse caparisoned with white Linnen, on which the Prelate rid aside, like a Woman, carrying a Cross in his Hand, and giving his Benediction to the People. The Reins of his Bridle were three Ells long supported by three Gentlemen marching behind the Emperor; and the Head of the Horse was held by a Boyar. Instead of a Mitre, the Patriarch wore, at that Time, a flat Cap on his Head, adorned with Diamonds and Golden Loops, edged round with Ermines. A Band of young Men carried several Pieces of Stuff of three or four Ells long, before him of various Colours. The Metropolitans, the Protopopes, and the Popes, had all of them *Chasubles* on, a Sort of Caps used by the Popish Priests when they say Mass; of these and other Priests about five hundred march'd in the Procession, every one carrying some-

something in his Hand, one a Book, another a Cross, and some Crofiers; those who marched next the Patriarch, carried great Pictures of the Virgin richly adorned with Gold, Jewels, and Chaplets or Bead-rolls of Pearls; others carried great Crosses richly adorned likewise, and so heavy, that some were forced to be carried by four Priests.

Then came those who carried the Gospels, which were vastly magnificent, for a single Leaf has cost six or seven thousand Pounds. The Czar *Peter* had one made for him, by a *French* Jeweller, on each Side set with five Emeralds, the least of which was worth ten Thousand Crowns.

The Gentlemen and Lawyers had Boughs of Willow, instead of Branches of Palm, in their Hands. The Czar's Guards, and the People prostrated themselves flat on the Ground, like the *Tartars* before their Grand *Lama*; and a triumphal Arch was borne along with a Tree on it, from which several Boys in the Machine endeavoured to reach the Apples that were hanging on it. When the Ceremony was over, the Patriarch sometimes sent the Czar a Purse with a hundred Roubles in it; at other Times the Czar went home to Dinner with him.

There is a Nich in the *Jerusalem* Church, where the Patriarch used to stand to give his Benediction to the People, after which he repeated these Words, *Go, and eat nothing these three Days.*

I have heard a pleasant Story, of an Accident that happened to an *English* Merchant's Servant, on account of this Benediction. The Servant was a *Russian* by Birth, but borne far in the Country, and having never seen such a Ceremony before, when he returned from Church he appeared so melancholy that his Master took Notice, and asked the Reason of it. The *Russian* told him of the Orders which were given by the most holy Patriarch, that no Body should eat any Thing in three Days; and said, he was afraid he should die with Hunger in the mean Time. He fasted two or three Days, and was ready to eat himself, not being used to such

such Penance, however he held out; and then, notwithstanding his great Veneration for the Patriarch, swore he would never go to Church to hear his Blessing again.

The patriarchal Dignity was introduced into the *Russian Church* by meer Chance, * which till the Year fifteen hundred eighty eight, acknowledged the Patriarch of *Constantinople* for hers; and this was by the Means of one *Hieronomo*, who was degraded, and deposed by the Clergy from that ancient patriarchal See, which he had very unworthily filled for some Years. He was one of those *Greek Prelates*, and wandering Beggars, who pretend to have been unjustly persecuted by the *Turks*, such as have been running through all the Kingdoms and Provinces in the Christian Parts of *Europe*, but one of the cunningest and boldest that lying *Greece* ever produced. This *Hieronomo*, to revenge himself on the Clergy of *Constantinople*, and fill his Purse, proposed to the Czar *Theodore Ivanowitz*, among other Projects, (one of which was an Alliance of *Muscovy* with *Spain*, and the *Pope* against the *Turks*) to make *Muscovy* the patriarchal See of all the whole *Greek Church*, and to resign his Dignity to whomever his Majesty should be pleased to name, or cause to be elected. He brought that Prince the more easily into this Design, since by it he would save a great deal of Money, which was sent every Year to *Constantinople*, upon which he assembled his Council, and the principal Members of the *Russian Church*, who all applauded the Proposal; and the Fifteenth of *January* 1588, was appointed for the Ceremony: Conformable to which *Hieronomo* went in great Pomp, with the *Russian Clergy*, to the Metropolitan Church of *Precheste*, [our Lady] where he made an Oration, after which he delivered his patriarchal Staff and Tiara into the Hands of the Metropolitan *Jacob*, who was immediately installed with great Solemnity. He afterwards drew up an Instrument of

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* *De la Motraye*. Vol. III. P. 140, 141.

Resignation, which he gave him in Writing, and received, before he left *Moscow*, a prodigious Number of valuable Presents in Gold, Silver, and rich Furs, from the Czar, the Nobility, the new Patriarch, and the Clergy; being splendidly entertained while he remained there: But thinking it not convenient to stay long after his being so well rewarded for the Resignation he had made of a Dignity which was neither in his Power, nor Possession, he went to *Rome* with his Booty.

Upon the Death of the last Patriarch, who dy'd soon after the Czar returned from his Travels, his Majesty resolved to have no other Patriarch elected; but to make himself sole Head and Governor of the Church; however he appointed the Metropolitan of *Resan*, a Pole by Birth, and whom he found the learnedest Man among the Clergy, to take upon him the Administration of Ecclesiastical Affairs; but was, from Time to Time, to make a Representation of all Matters of Moment to the Czar himself and receive his Directions therein.

The Clergy, as we may easily imagine, were not a little disturbed at this great Alteration in the Government of the Church; and one Bishop having spoke too freely of the Czar's assuming the supreme Authority to himself, was immediately ordered to be degraded; but none of the other Bishops would readily comply in executing this Order, but offered Remonstrances to his Majesty, to shew that it was a Thing unknown for a Person of that high Rank and Dignity in the Church to be degraded, and alledged, that they, being all but Bishops and of equal Rank, had no Power to do it: But however they were willing to give up their Brother for the Interest of the Church; for they proposed this Expedient, that, if his Majesty would allow them to elect another Patriarch, they would proceed upon the Degradation of the Bishop who had offended him. *Peter*, who would not suffer any of his Subjects to expostulate with him, took another Method, and resenting this mean Evasion, created a new Bishop,

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the aforeſaid Metropolitan of *Reſan*, on purpoſe to execute his Orders, and obliged him to take away the Mitre of the other Biſhop.

This Reſolution in the Czar cauſed ſome very bold Writings to be dropped about in the Streets of *Moscow*; which gave ſuch Offence, that large Rewards were offered to diſcover the Authors of them, but to no Effect.

I ſhall ſpeak next of the Ceremonies of their Marriages. The Day appointed being come, the Bride uſed to put on her Head a Sort of Hood made of fine Linnen or Lawn, or Knit-work, that veiled her to the Middle, and ſo, with her Friends, and the Bridegroom with his, went to Church, on Horſeback, though the Church was never ſo near at Hand. They married with a Ring, and the Words of the Contract and Ceremony agreed much with ours. The Ring put on, and the Contract pronounced, the Bride's Hand was deliver'd into the Hand of the Bridegroom, ſtanding all this while on one Side of the Altar or Table, and the Bride on the other. The Knot being thus knit by the Priſt, ſhe came about with the Bridegroom to the End of the Table, and falling down at his Feet, knocked her Head upon his Shoe, in token of Subjection and Obedience; then the Bridegroom uſed to caſt the Skirt of his Gown over her, ſignifying his Duty to protect and cheriſh her. After this the Bride's Father and Friends bowed to the Bridegroom, and his Relations to the Bride, in token of Love and Affinity between the two Kindreds. This done the Bridegroom's Father delivered the Priſt a Loaf of Bread, who preſently returned it, upon a ſolemn Promiſe, that the Dowry ſhould be delivered at the Day appointed, and that Friendſhip ſhould continue between the two Kindreds; ſo the Bread was broken, and they eat it amongſt them, to teſtify their true and ſincere Meaning to perform the Charge and Promiſe, and thenceforth to become of one Family.

Their Manner of wooing was short, for when they made Love, the Man sent Presents to the Woman, which if she accepted the Match was agreed on; but if they were returned, it was a Sign he was disliked; and among other Presents sometimes there was a Whip, to let the Woman know what she was to expect, if she proved disobedient, or broke the Marriage Vow; if this odd Sort of Present could be acceptable to the Women in the Time of Courtship, it would almost make one believe the ridiculous Assertion of some Authors, that the *Russian* Women loved their Husbands the better for beating them.

They used Divorce among them, and it was often practised on slender Pretences; for a Man might go into a Monastery, and shave himself like a Fryar in a pretended Fit of Devotion, and by such Means free himself from his Wife, and leave her to shift for herself; which was frequently occasioned by the intolerable Provocations and ill Behaviour of the Women: But this was chiefly among the common Sort: For Women of Quality and Fashion, always were, and still are, very obedient, and pay a profound Respect to their Husbands.

As to the burial of their Dead, it was done with much Ceremony. They used to put new Shoes on them, and give them a Letter in their Hands, directed to St. *Nicholas*, intimating, that the Deceased was a *Russ* Man, or Woman, dying in the true Faith: When the Ground was frozen, that no Spade could enter it, they laid them up in their Dead-Houses, which they call God's Houses, and when the Ground became fit to be dug they buried them in their Cloaths, causing Prayers to be said over them; and besides the Relations, there were other Women Mourners, employ'd to make a great Howling and Noise, who were hired for that Purpose. It was likewise the Custom for the Relations of the Deceased to visit their Graves, on particular Days in the Year, there to cry and howl for some Hours, and

and then leave Branches of Trees, Flowers, Bread, Meat, Brandy, Mead, Beer, and other Liquors, which they imagined the Dead had occasion for; but which were constantly taken by the Priests as soon as they were gone.

The *Muscovites* had a great Veneration for Holy Water, and once a Year the Rivers were hallowed, with much Ceremony by the Bishops, and then there was great struggling among the People for the Water, and some would leap into it, though in the most rigorous Season of the Year, and Women would dip their tender Infants all over, concluding there was then a great Virtue in it; and oftentimes it was given to the Sick in order to recover them by its wonderful Efficacy.

They had likewise a ridiculous Custom of sending Prayers in a Cap to Persons at a Distance. And many would refuse to work on a *Friday*, under Pretence that the *Panitza* was angry, and would punish those with Misfortunes, who did not observe this Feast in Honour of her. *M. de la Motraye* says, he was assured as a Truth, that in the District of *Starodub* they led a Woman with dishevelled Hair, every *Friday*, in an ecclesiastical Procession under the Name of *Panitza*; and that the People bowed down before her at Church, and made her Presents, in Hopes of great Benefits, which the Priests flattered them they should receive from her.

In the Neighbourhood of several Monasteries the Monks used to erect Oratories in the High-Ways, with Images in them, before which Passengers used to bow down, while the begging Brothers held forth a Box to receive their pious Contributions.

Many of the *Russians* thought it a great Crime to eat a Pigeon, because the Holy Ghost is painted in the Shape of a Dove.

They had a Tradition of the Monastery of *Pekerski* in *Kiozw*, that whoever was buried therein, should be saved although he died without repenting of his Sins.

These and many other superstitious Abuses the Czar *Peter* took care to abolish when he settled the National Synod, as we shall see hereafter.

As to the Government of the Provinces, the large Dominions of *Russia* were formerly divided into four Parts, called *Chetfirds* or *Tetrearchies*, every Part containing divers Shires, and was annexed to the several Offices from whence they derived their Names; the first bore the Name of the *Polski Chetfird*, or Jurisdiction of the Office of Embassies, and foreign Affairs.

The Second was called *Roseradny Chetfird*, because it belonged to the *Roserade* or High-Constable.

The Third was the *Pomeslency Chetfird*, appertaining to that Office, where was kept a Register of all the Lands given by the Prince for Services to his Boyars, Gentlemen and others.

The Fourth was called the *Cassansky Dewcerts*, being appropriated to the Office which had the Jurisdiction of the Kingdoms of *Astracan* and *Casan*, with the Cities and Towns lying on the *Wolga*. From the Jurisdiction of those Offices, but very few Places were privileged or exempted, except the Czar's Inheritance, or *Vochin*, as they term'd it; for that pertained from antient Time to the House of *Beala*, which stood on thirty-six Towns, with their Bounds and Territories, and some other particular Royalty. These great Officers resided commonly at Court, and carried their Offices with them wherever they went. They were generally Lords of the greatest Families in *Russia*, who were Favourites of the Czar, and acted as sovereign Princes under him, in all Provinces they were to govern. They had Liberty to use the Czar's Name for their Authority in issuing forth their Orders, and had Power over Mens Lives and Fortunes. To these great Lords or Princes was an Appeal from the District of all the less Towns and Cities in each Province. A Bench of *Diacks*, or Secretaries, sat as Judges in every one of these principal Offices or Courts

Courts at *Moscow*; who were to hear and determine Matters relating to the Treasury, as well as all civil and military Affairs; and to report their Proceedings to the principal Lords under whose Power they acted, who seldom came themselves in Person to hear any Cause; and from whom there was formerly no Appeal.

These Lords had also the sole Power to appoint and send Governors to each Province, which was subdivided into less Districts, and every Governor had a Diack or petty Chancellor, and an Office or Court of Justice erected under him, called a Precause, where they sat as Commissaries for the Czar's Revenues, and likewise as Judges, with an absolute Power to determine all Causes, without either Jury, or Counsel to plead for the unhappy Persons who were brought before them. Only in Cases of Life, they were obliged to make a Representation by Letter to the Lord of the Province in *Moscow*, before any Man could be executed; but that was done in such a Manner, that the Business always went as they would have it.

The Commissions to these Governors were usually granted for three Years, which time they held their Places, unless their Oppressions and Frauds were so flagrant that they were turned out sooner. They had no Salary appointed them, but when they were put into their Governments, a Present was made them of about three or four thousand Roubles, according to the Ability of the People where they were sent, who made likewise Presents privately to the Diacks belonging to the head Office, or Precause in *Moscow*. Yet would these Governors commonly make themselves rich in the afore said Term of three Years; by which it may be guessed how equitably they served their Prince, and what Justice the People had from them: But it was remarkable all over *Russia*, among the common People, that the first Step they took, in any Matters to be brought to a Tryal, was to bribe the Judge
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whose Hands were open to both Parties, and that which bribed the highest carried the Cause.

Besides this grand Article of Bribery, the Governors had other Opportunities of enriching themselves; one was the Power they had of assessing the Taxes, and appointing Collectors, or Challavolnicks, under them, to receive the Czar's Revenues; and to return the Sums collected into the grand Precause, or proper Office of each Boyar, at *Moscow*; where what account they thought fit was made out of the Money collected, and the Expences of doing it, and the Remainder paid into the Czar's Treasury.

The Czar, resolving to enquire into these Affairs, found that a more faithful Account might be made of his Revenues, and that the Oppressions of the Governors in unequal Assessments of the Taxes, ought to have a Stop put to it. He therefore called a Grand Council of all his Boyars, and proposed to them, that there should be one general Office erected in *Moscow* after the Model he had seen in *Holland*, and called by the *Dutch* Name of the Rate-House, for the better collecting and managing his Revenues; and that a certain Number of reputable Men should be chosen, from among the Merchants, to be called Burgo-Masters, and to sit daily, to appoint Officers and Clerks, in the first Place to collect and account for his Revenues payable into their own Office within the District of *Moscow*, and from thence to commission others to do the same in the smaller Towns and Cities of his Majesty's Dominions, who were to return the Monies so collected into the general Rate-House at *Moscow*, where the Accounts were to be settled, and the Cash transmitted into the Great Treasury, or wherever the Emergencies of the State, by the Czar's Order, should require it. The Land-Tax and Poll-Tax only were left to be raised by the Governors or Wai-vodes as before.

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These Matters, though so useful, when first proposed by the Czar to his Council, were not at all pleasing to them, the Boyars did not like to have so considerable a Branch of their Power lop'd off; but remonstrated to his Majesty, that, as the Honour and Trust of levying his Revenues had always been lodged in the Care of his Nobility, which, they hoped, they had always discharged with Fidelity, it would be looked upon as a publick Dishonour and Affront to them to have it taken away, and put into the Hands of Boors and Slaves, who were not worthy to be set in Competition with them. They therefore proposed several other Schemes to give him Satisfaction in this Point, and begg'd at least that some Lords or Gentlemen of the best Families might have the Honour to be commissioned in the general Office that was to be erected at *Moscow*: But finding it in Vain to contend, that the Czar grew angry, and that some of their Heads might pay for this shew of Disobedience, they acquiesced, and the Design was put in Execution, which was pursued for some Years to the great Advantage of his Majesty's Revenues, till some of his Favourites, to raise larger Sums and extort Money from his People, went into Measures that were very oppressive and proved detrimental to Trade, for though they succeeded for a short Time, it afterwards reduced his Revenues to one half of what they had at first raised them to.

For the farther Increase of his Revenues, and partly to ease the Taxes of the trading People in his Dominions, his Majesty about this Time gave Orders to the Precause, or Office belonging to the Monasteries, that Money should be levied on these throughout all *Russia*, they having a great Part of the best Land and Villages belonging to them. He likewise ordered, that no Man under the Age of Fifty should, for the future, be admitted into any Monastery, very wisely observing, that so many young People being shut up in Cloysters render'd

them useless, and greatly prevented the Increase of his Subjects, that were wanted in his Wars.

In the Year one thousand seven hundred, a Grand Jubilee was celebrated at *Moscow*, which, by the Czar's Order, began on the first of *January*, and continued for a Week with firing Guns and ringing Bells; Colours flying all Day, and Illuminations in the Streets and Houses at Night. The Czar ordered that, from henceforth, no Person, under a severe Penalty, should date any Writings in Law, or of any other Kind, according to the old *Russian* Way; but begin the Year as on that Day, the first of *January*, which was before began on the first of *September*, for the *Muscovite* *Æra* was from the Beginning of the World, which the *Russians* imagined God had created at that Time of the Year: As hath been observed before, Page 2.

The Czar himself seeing the Folly of their Opinion in this Matter, would sometimes take a Map in his Hand, and shew the Boyars about him, that *Moscow* was but a Part of the World, and that the Winter with them was Summer in Parts on the other Side the Line. But such was the Ignorance of these People, that it was not many Years before that they were going to commit the Secretary of a *Persian* Ambassador to the Flames, as a Sorcerer, for his having foretold an Eclipse of the Sun; and it was not without some Difficulty that he was rescued from the Fury of the Mob.

There had been no Schools to teach even Arithmetick before the Reign of *Peter*, nor did the *Russians* at all understand the Use of Figures, but reckoned by the Help of Beeds strung on Wires in a Frame, which they placed as Units, Tens, Hundreds, and Thousands, and by tossing them backwards and forwards, could multiply and divide, after a tedious Way, liable to gross Mistakes, yet this was used in all their publick Offices.

About this Time the Czar erected a large School, in which a great Number of Boys were not only taught Arithmetick, but a Substistence in Money,

was allowed to such as were willing to come and learn. Some of the most ingenious among them were taught the Mathematicks by Mr. *Fergharson* and the two young Persons out of Christ's Hospital, whom the Czar sent over from *England*, when he was here; and of these about a Hundred, who had learnt Navigation, were sent abroad to *England, Holland, and Italy*, to qualify themselves for the Service of the Czar's Fleet. He also employed the same Mr. *Fergharson*, to teach Astronomy, allowing him all Kinds of Telescopes and other mathematical Instruments and Books, and ordered him to calculate all the visible Eclipses, and how they would appear in his Country, which he did constantly, and sent to him as they would happen, in whatever distant Part of his Empire he was.

One Method which the Czar took to keep Arts and Sciences among his People was certainly very cruel, and that was to confine the Professors of them in his Country, by denying them Passports, and by keeping them out of great Part of the Pay or Stipends which were agreed to be given them. Captain *Perry*, who had suffered thus, speaking of this Mr. *Fergharson*, says, they had often lamented their Fortunes together, they having been both treated in the like Manner. Captain *Perry* set forth his Case at large in the following Memorial which he delivered to the Lord *Apraxin*, when he had been about twelve Years in the Country.

“ On *April*, 1698, an Agreement or Contract was verbally made with me in *England* for entering into his Czarish Majesty's Service; by his Ambassador the late Lord *Theodore Alexeyavick Gollowin*, for the Salary of three hundred Pound Sterling per Annum, besides a monthly Allowance that was agreed to be paid me sufficient for my Charges and Subsistence; and that in case of my performing any extraordinary Work relating to Rivers, Havens, Moles, Docks, or Sluices, to have more over an extraordinary Reward given me to my Content. I was thereupon sent directly forward
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‘ from *England* to view and make a Report of the
 ‘ Work for making a Communication between the
 ‘ Rivers *Volga* and the *Don*, (that had been de-
 ‘ serted by Colonel *Breckell*) and, according to his
 ‘ Majesty’s Orders, I went forward thither, and
 ‘ survey’d it, and returned the same Year back to
 ‘ *Moscow*, with a Draught of what was necessary to
 ‘ be done, and an Estimate of the same: Which
 ‘ being approved of and ordered to be taken in
 ‘ Hand by his Majesty, I required the Settlement
 ‘ of my Wages to be duly paid me every six
 ‘ Months, and that a farther Reward of eight thou-
 ‘ sand Roubles should be given me when the Work
 ‘ should be performed.

‘ Whereupon it was objected by my Lord *Kneaz*
 ‘ *Borice-Allexyavitz Galliczin*, that a Letter had been
 ‘ writ to him from *Holland* by the aforesaid Am-
 ‘ bassadors, that I should undertake the said Work
 ‘ without the Payment of my yearly Wages till
 ‘ it was performed; against which I therefore
 ‘ protested; and on *March* the 10th, 1699, deli-
 ‘ vered a Petition into his Czarish Majesty’s own
 ‘ Hand, setting forth the Unreasonableness there-
 ‘ of, and that I could not consent to take the
 ‘ said Work in Hand on any such Terms or Con-
 ‘ ditions, and therefore pray’d, that either I might
 ‘ be employed on some other Business, or have my
 ‘ Discharge given me.

‘ To which his Czarish Majesty, in the Presence
 ‘ of Mr. *Stiles*, Mr. *Lloyd*, Mr. *Crevet*, and several
 ‘ other *English* Merchants, was pleased to give me
 ‘ repeated Assurances, and commanded me to rely
 ‘ upon his gracious Word, that the aforesaid Ob-
 ‘ jections should have no Force against me; but
 ‘ that my full Wages, as aforesaid, should be yearly
 ‘ paid me, as well as monthly Subsistence-Money;
 ‘ and a farther Reward to my Satisfaction more
 ‘ than the Sum above-mentioned, upon Perform-
 ‘ ance of the Work: But by Reason that *Breckell*,
 ‘ when he had gathered a Sum of Money, had
 ‘ deserted, as was objected by the Lord *Galliczin*,
 ‘ his Majesty only required me to give Security nor
 ‘ to

‘ to do the like, and promised that I should receive
‘ my said Salary every six Months, before hand, if
‘ I desired it.

‘ Which gracious Promise I most chearfully em-
‘ braced; but I being then a Stranger and newly
‘ come into the Country, I could not reasonably
‘ expect, nor could I ask any Gentleman there to
‘ be bound for me in this Case. Yet I did not in
‘ the least doubt, but in a Year or two’s Time I
‘ should have been able to make such an Advance,
‘ and to have given such sufficient Proof of my
‘ Abilities and Readiness for performing the Work,
‘ that would have quite removed all Scruple of
‘ my deserting so considerable and reputable a Ser-
‘ vice; and that by Consequence no Demur would
‘ be made in the Payment of my Salary, although
‘ no Security was given against Desertion.

‘ But to my great Surprise, and unthought of
‘ Discouragement, when I came upon the Work, I
‘ found the Men and Materials which I proposed
‘ for the doing of it not provided; myself and
‘ Mr. *Luke Kenedy*, my chief Assistant, treated in a
‘ very rough Manner, shew’d the Gallows, and
‘ threaten’d to be hang’d by the aforesaid Lord
‘ *Galliczin*, because I did not carry on the Work
‘ where I found *Breckell* had begun it, who had
‘ deserted it; and although he knew that upon my
‘ Representations in *Moscow*, his Czarish Majesty
‘ had expressly order’d me to the contrary; and af-
‘ terwards when his Lordship in Hopes to find an
‘ Occasion of an Objection against me, appointed
‘ Persons on Purpose, and ordered a strict Measure
‘ and Examination to be taken of both Places; it
‘ was found (upon Computation) that there were
‘ above twenty thousand cubical Fathoms *Russ*
‘ Measure, less Labour of digging Work in the
‘ cutting of the Canal where I began it; besides
‘ a very great Advantage in the Necessity of plac-
‘ ing the Sluices. But notwithstanding I gave full
‘ Satisfaction in this Point, I still found many other
‘ great Discouragements and Hinderances to the
‘ Work;

‘ Work; and my Complaints, and repeated Demands in Writing given into the Precause availing little: Therefore, *February 17, 1700*, I delivered to his Czarish Majesty himself a Petition, setting forth, that unless his Majesty would be graciously pleased to appoint me a Hearing, and examine himself into the whole Matter, I feared there was no Hopes of my being ever able to perform the said Work.

‘ Whereupon, after I had delivered my said Petition to his Majesty, I was the next Day ordered by the Lord *Kneaz Borice Alexyavitz Galliczin* to give a new List into the Precause, and told, that all Things should be fully provided for the Work. I was glad to hear so encouraging a Promise, with fresh Hopes that Things would now go better on: But the second Summer having passed away also in the same Manner, the needful Men and Materials not given, and several Parts of the Work lying unfinished, and subject thereby to Damage and Ruin by the Floods, particularly for Want of Caulkers, which there was the greatest Necessity for; and finding still no likelihood of Redress upon my Complaints to the Lord *Kneaz Borice Alexyavitz Galliczin*, nor in the Precause, I therefore thought myself in Duty bound, and again delivered into his Majesty’s own Hand another Writing, dated the 23d Day of *January 1701*, setting forth particularly, that all the digging Work that was done in two Summers might (by Computation and Measure) have been done in less than fifty Days, at the Rate of twelve Men digging and carrying off but one cubical Fathom a Day, had the Number of labouring Men been given, and Things carried on as I required.

‘ Also setting forth, that there still wanted several Sorts of Timber, Caulkers, and other Artificers, and Necessaries, without which it was impossible for any one Sluice ever to be completed; and which, to my very great Trouble and Dis-

‘ courage,

‘couragement, I had seen in two Years not provided. But that yet notwithstanding all the Hindrances that I met with, if the needful Men and Materials were but then fully given, which I had demanded in my first List, the Work that remained to be done might be depended on to be finished in three or four Years Time at farthest.

‘Upon which I was informed, that now more strict Orders than ever were given, that all Necessaries whatsoever that I had demanded; and were wanting, should be duly provided; and I was commanded by his Majesty to prepare new Molds and Directions for the cutting Timber, &c. which I carried, and delivered into his Majesty’s own Hands, at his House at *Brezazenski*. But notwithstanding at the latter End of this third Summer, I was, in Writing, informed, by *Kneaz Peter Evanswich* * *Dashcoff*, that the several Governors of the Towns, on all the Districts of the *Wolga*, whether Copies of the said Molds, and Directions for cutting the said Timber were sent, had taken *Scascoes* or Attestations in Writing, under the Hands of the several Persons employed, that no such Timber was any where possible to be found.

‘Therefore I demanded a Company of Dragoons to go with me, that I might not be surprized by the *Tartars*, and went myself into the Woods, not two Days Journey from the Work, where in less than fourteen Days Time I found very proper, well-grown Timber enough for making the Gates, and finishing two Pair of Sluices; which Timber I shew’d to the Lord *Apraxin*, who happened to be at that Time sent to supervise the Work; as also I represented to his Lordship, when he was upon the Spot, the great Want of Caulkers, and other Artificers, and Necessaries, which to that Day were never given; nor the small Number of Smiths, Carpenters and Labourers
‘continued

* He was appointed General of the Army then covering the Work, and Governor of the Workmen.

continued in the Winter, which I had demanded in my first List. All which his Lordship took Cognizance of, and promised to represent to the Czar; and that he would be my Patron, and make a just Recommendation of my Endeavours to his Majesty.

On the second of *September* 1701, I received an Order to leave Directions in Writing with one of my Assistants, whom I should choose to take care of the Work that was performed, and to come myself with my other Assistants and Master Artificers that I had with me, to *Moscow*. And soon after the Beginning of the Year 1702, I was from thence ordered down to *Veronis*, where I made an extraordinary Work upon that River, for raising and letting off the Water at any Time whenever required, for lifting his Majesty's Ships upon the Land to be refitted that were then ready to sink as they lay in the River, for want of an effectual Method to repair them; which Work I finished in the Year 1703. And all his Czarish Majesty's Ships have accordingly been there since repaired that have required it. And after I finished this, I was employed in doing another Work for making the said River navigable for Ships of eighty Guns, the whole Way from the City *Veronis* to the River *Don*; which I also performed as commanded, where the needful Men and Materials were given me to it; though the Sluices are much larger, and the Floods in the Spring of the Year above ten times greater there than they are on the River *Camishinska*; and consequently the Works required to be made there with greater Strength against greater Floods, and were far more difficult to perform.

In *February* 1706, after I had finished the said Works, I was ordered to *Moscow*, and on *September* following, I was sent down again upon the River *Don*, to survey a Place for making a Work to preserve his Majesty's Ships from Decay. And to return again to *Moscow*, with the Report of the same; where I have been ever since petitioning
and

‘ and soliciting for my Arrears to be given me *, and
 ‘ to be employed on some other Business, or to have
 ‘ my Discharge, which is not given me, nor any
 ‘ Part of my yearly Wages yet paid me, neither for
 ‘ the Time I have served in the *Casans*, nor the
 ‘ *Admiraltitski* Precause; only an Account has been
 ‘ formerly made out in the *Admiraltitski* Precause
 ‘ for six Years Salary at three hundred Pounds *per*
 ‘ *Annum*, according to my Agreement; but it was
 ‘ with this Injustice and Hardship; that all the
 ‘ monthly Subsistence-Money that I had received for
 ‘ the said six Years should be deducted out of my said
 ‘ yearly Salary, and the same to be reckoned me
 ‘ but at a *Russ* Copeck for an *English* Penny, which,
 ‘ according to the Course of Exchange at that Time,
 ‘ was at thirty-eight *per Cent* Loss to me: Not only
 ‘ so, but refusing also to pay me any Part of the
 ‘ said Money, unless I would first set my Hand to
 ‘ agree to a new Contract, on such discouraging
 ‘ Conditions that were altogether unreasonable for
 ‘ me to comply with.

‘ This is the true State of my Case, which I hum-
 ‘ bly pray may be justly consider’d: First, that it
 ‘ was no way my Fault that the Work in making
 ‘ a Communication between the *Volga* and the *Don*
 ‘ was not long since performed, as has been shewn.
 ‘ And next, that no Objection at my coming into
 ‘ the Country was made against the immediate Pay-
 ‘ ment of my annual Salary, but the abovesaid
 ‘ Scruple unjustly raised of my deserting, which
 ‘ now, after near twelve Years Proof of the Fide-
 ‘ lity of my Service, I hope is sufficiently removed.
 ‘ And since his Czarish Majesty’s Favour and
 ‘ Bounty is daily extended to great Numbers of
 ‘ those that come from foreign Countries to serve
 ‘ him, I humbly hope that I shall not be made
 ‘ an

* This was in the Year 1710, which a little antici-
 pates and breaks into the Thread of the History, in Point
 of Time; but I was willing to give this Memorial en-
 tire, as he presented it.

‘ an unhappy Instance of Misfortune and Ruin
 ‘ thereby: After having relied so many Years on
 ‘ his Czarish Majesty’s gracious Promises of my
 ‘ Wages made to me, and having spent the best of
 ‘ my Days and faithfully exerted my utmost Judg-
 ‘ ment and Endeavours for his Majesty’s Service,
 ‘ in all Things wherein I have ever been com-
 ‘ manded.

J. PERRY.

After the Services set forth in this Memorial, the farther Hardship Captain *Perry* underwent, (who was at last forced to come away without his Money, by putting himself under the Protection of Mr. *Whitworth* the *English* Ambassador) may be thought to be without Excuse, unless we consider that the Czar thus forcibly detain’d all ingenious Foreigners for the Improvement of his Country, which he had more at Heart than any other Consideration.

The Case of Mr. *Fergharson*, was likewise very hard, an Agreement was made with him, when he was first entertained in *England*, that he should have his Charges defrayed for him to *Moscow*, and that he should have a handsome Allowance given him for his Subsistence when he went over, until he had learned the Language of the Country, for which he should have a *Latin* Interpreter appointed him, and until there was a fit School prepared: And that then, as often as ever he should teach and learn any Scholar, in particular the Art of Navigation, so as to be discharged from his School, and sent abroad farther to learn the practical Part of Navigation, the said *Fergharson* should have the Reward of one hundred *Roubles*, in ready Money, given him; but though he had, when Captain *Perry* came out of the Country, made perfect and discharged above seventy Scholars, yet he had not received one Penny of the said Money.

The two Mathematicians taken from *Christ’s Hospital*, to assist Mr. *Fergharson*, had as great Misfortunes

as their Countrymen ; one indeed was more unfortunate, for he was attacked by a Company of Rogues as he rode out from the School, and murdered in the Streets about nine o'Clock at Night ; Mr. *Fergharson* himself very narrowly escaped the same Fate afterwards : And Mr. *Guin*, the other Assistant, had not above half the Allowance given him *per Annum*, that was allowed to Mr. *Fergharson* for his bare Subsistence, though being a well behaved and ingenious Man, there is no doubt but he might have made much better Advantage of his Time at Home.

This Sort of Cruelty is, in some Measure, still exercised in *Russia*, if we may give Credit to the Account given by one, who styles himself an *Italian* Officer of Distinction in his Letters from *Muscovy*, printed in the Year 1735 ; wherein he tells us, ' that a Foreigner, who has lived some Time among them, finds it difficult to obtain his Dismission. ' They are no sooner informed of his Intent, than ' they raise Suspicions, and carry their Jealousy ' and Distrust to an Excess. Whoever has once got ' a Knowledge of their Affairs, must never hope to ' leave their Country. They imagine they have ' Reason to apprehend such a one would divulge ' their *Arcana*.

But we have a very late Instance to contradict what this *Italian* Officer says, that is, Leave given, by her present imperial Majesty of *Russia*, to Mr. *Noy*, one of the Ship-Builders, who went over in King *William's* Reign, to come to his native Country, where he arrived in the Year 1737, and is settled at *Portsmouth*, with a very handsome Pension, given to him for Life by that generous Princess.

After this long Digression, I shall, in the next Book, return to our History in due Order of Time.

The End of the Third BOOK.

T H E



BOOK IV.

The CONTENTS.

The Siege and Battle of Narva. The Muscovites Beards shaved, by the Czar's Order. Regulations in the Dress, Equipages, and several Customs of the Muscovites. An Interview between the Czar and King Augustus. The Battle of Clisslaw. A false Rumour of the King of Sweden's Death of great Service to Augustus.

THE Czar's Forces being now in Readiness, he appeared before *Narva*, with an Army of a hundred thousand Men, hoping that, if he could take this Town, he should open a Passage to the *Baltick*. It was on the first of *October* 1700, that he sat down before it, a Season of the Year very rigorous in those cold Climates, but *Peter*, as *M. de Voltaire* observes, who would make nothing of riding Post a hundred Leagues, in the midst of Winter, to see a Mine or a Canal, was willing to make his Troops forget all Distinctions of Seasons, as he seemed to do himself. He gave the Command of his Army to the Duke *de Croy*, a *German*, and took to himself no higher Post than that of a Lieutenant at this Time.

In this Army he had only a Body of thirty thousand Men, who were the Soldatee, formed out of the old *Strelitzes* and *Germans*, that were worth any thing; the rest were a rude Number of Men drawn from the Forests and Wilds covered with Skins, and armed with Clubs, and some with Arrows, but few of them knew the Use of Fire-Arms,

or had ever seen a Battle or regular Siege, which *Narva* indeed was but ill provided for; it had a slender Garrison and very mean Magazines, yet, attacked by such Forces, held out to the Close of the Year.

The King of *Sweden* was the more enraged at this Procedure, as there were still three *Muscovite* Ambassadors at *Stockholm* treating of Peace. This young Hero, who had already reduced the King of *Denmark* to sue for Peace, which was concluded by the Treaty of *Trøvedal*, signed in the Month of *August* before, crossed the Sea with two Hundred Transports, and landed at *Pernaw* in the Gulf of *Riga*; the Town of *Riga* was, at that Time, besieged by the King of *Poland*, the Czar's Ally; but as soon as he heard of *Charles* the Twelfth's landing he abandoned the Place, and made a Merit of it to the States-General of *Holland*, who had desired him, by their Ambassadors, to spare a Place in which the *Dutch* had considerable Effects, and thus he in some Sort prevented the Dishonour of quitting an Enterprize he found he could not succeed in. *Riga* being now opened and fresh supplied, the King of *Sweden* marched directly to *Narva*, with about four thousand Horse, and the like Number of Foot; the Czar was gone in Person to hasten the March of forty thousand Recruits from *Pleskow*, besides his great Army of a hundred thousand, and designed to have hem'd the King of *Sweden* in, between these two Armies; he had ordered thirty thousand Men from the Camp before *Narva* to be posted at a League's Distance from the Town, and in the Rout of the King of *Sweden*, twenty thousand more were placed farther off upon the same Rout, and five thousand more made up an advanced Guard, through all which Troops *Charles* was to force his Way before he could arrive at the Camp, fortified with a Rampart, and double Foss. The King of *Sweden* continued his March (through Ways that were thought impracticable, and therefore little Care had been taken to secure them) till

he found himself in Sight of the Enemy's first Posts; he did not give the *Muscovites* time to know how small a Number of Men he had, but attacked all their Posts one after another; they could not imagine but the whole *Swedish* Army was coming upon them, so the advanced Guard, of five thousand Men fled immediately upon his Approach. The next twenty thousand, terrified at the Flight of their Countrymen, fled likewise, in Confusion among the thirty thousand, posted within a League of the Camp, who retired in the greatest Consternation to the main Body of the Army. The King of *Sweden* lost no Time, but with his Men fatigued as they were, by so long a March, appeared before the Camp of a hundred thousand *Muscovites*. The Duke *de Groy* had made the best Dispositions that were possible, posting the Infantry in the Entrenchments, and a second Line to strengthen them, with the Cavalry to support them behind. He had scarce done this before the King attack'd them with eight Battalions, having General *Rebinder*, an Officer of great Experience and Prudence as well as Valour, at their Head.

This was on the 30th of *November* 1700. The Signal was two Fuses, and the Word in *German*, with the Aid of God; agreeable to the Piety of that young Prince, who was eminently devout as long as Fortune continued on his Side. As soon as the *Swedish* Cannon had made a Breach in the Intrenchments, they advanced with their Bayonets at the End of their Fuses, and were assisted by a violent Snow which drove full in the Faces of the *Muscovites*, who endured Slaughter for half a Hour without quitting their Posts. *Charles* himself attacked the Czar's Quarter, which lay on the right Side of the Camp, where he hoped to have encountred him, not knowing that he was gone to hasten his Recruits from *Pleskow*. Upon the first Discharge of the *Muscovite* Shot, the King of *Sweden* received a Ball in his left Shoulder, which grazed slightly upon the Flesh; but his Activity prevented his feeling

feeling that he was wounded. His Horse was immediately after shot under him, and soon after that a second had his Head taken off, as *Monf. de Voltaire* tells us, but *Mottraye*, in his Remarks on that Author's Life of *Charles XII.* seems to doubt of this, having heard nothing of it from a Colonel then present, who gave him a Relation of this Action; but be that as it may, the King, in less than three Hours, carried the Intrenchments on all Sides. The *Muscovites* not animated, as the *Swedes* were, by the Presence of their Prince, gave way in great Confusion, the King with his left Wing, pursued near fifty thousand of them as far as the River of *Narva*; where the Bridge breaking under them, the River was immediately covered with the Dead. The Horse made off in a tolerable good Order towards *Pleskow*, and, meeting the Czar some Leagues on this Side the City, first gave him an Account of the Defeat of his great Army. Above twenty thousand *Muscovites* were slain, and between two or three thousand of the *Swedes*, among whom were the Generals *Rebinder*, and *Rubbinghen*, who had shewn great Bravery in the Action.

The Rest, in Despair, with their Generals *de Croy*, *Dolhorcuky*, *Gollowin*, and *Fedorowitz*, surrendered themselves to the young Conqueror, and laid their Arms at his Feet. The Number of Prisoners was so very great, that it was thought proper to keep only the chief Officers and dismiss the Rest, who were entirely disarmed, and having their Breeches slit in two, so that they were forced to hold them up with both Hands, they were drove along, before a few *Swedish* Officers, like a Flock of Sheep, to the Distance of a League from *Narva*.

This is one of the most extraordinary Actions that can be met with in History; and the King of *Sweden*, this Year, made one of the most glorious Campaigns, who, at eighteen Years of Age, led an Army himself against three Kings in Confederacy against him, and not only proved successful

ful in all his Attempts, but gave wonderful Proofs of personal Courage and Conduct. The World expected in this Prince to see another *Gustavus Adolphus*, who at the same Age conquered *Livonia*, whom *Charles* had now gloriously relieved from the Invasion of two so powerful Enemies as *Peter* the Emperor of *Russia* and *Augustus* King of *Poland*.

The Czar thought it would be to little Purpose, with his forty thousand raw and undisciplined Men, to engage a young Victor just flushed with the Conquest of a hundred thousand, so retired to the Place from whence he came, and from thence went back to *Moscow*, which was most terribly alarmed at the News of this Battle. The Misfortune was undoubtedly very great, but *Peter* was so far from being dispirited at it, that he would often say, 'I expected to be beaten by the *Swedes*, and may again; but they, in Time, will teach us to beat them.'

The common People among the *Muscovites* could not imagine but that their being beaten, when they had such odds on their Side, was owing to Sorcery and Witchcraft, and accordingly put up a Prayer to *St. Nicholas* to protect them against the horrid Crew of Sorcerers, that were leagued against them.

In this Battle the Czar had lost above half his Army, and all his Artillery; but he applied himself with great Diligence to repair these Losses by raising Recruits, bringing more foreign Officers into his Service, and seeing his Regiments exercised and provided with all Things necessary; the Care of which he entrusted to none of his Courtiers, but looked narrowly into every Thing himself. For Want of Metal for his Artillery, he ordered the great Bells in several Churches to be taken down and cast into Cannon: But while he was making these Preparations for continuing the War, he wrote an Answer to the following Letter which he received from the King of Great Britain,

Britain, and to another from the States of Holland, to dissuade him from entering upon a War with Sweden at all.

WILLIAM III.

By the Grace of God, King of England, Scotland, France, and Ireland, Defender of the Faith, &c.

To the most High, most Potent, and most Illustrious, our dear Brother, the Grand Signior Czar, and Grand Duke Peter Alexowitz, of all the upper, lower, and white Russia, &c. Health, and all Happiness and Prosperity.

Most potent, and our most dear, and most beloved Brother,

THE singular Esteem, and personal Friendship which we have for your Imperial Majesty, causes us to embrace all Occasions to procure and advance your Imperial Majesty's Interests, and to do whatever in our Judgment may contribute to your Repose and Satisfaction. And our Zeal for the general Tranquility of *Europe*, which we look upon as a Thing which ought to be the most desired, permits us not to neglect any Opportunity which presents itself, to prevent whatever may disturb the publick Peace, or to resettle it in Time, should it happen to be shaken or broken. These Motives inclined us to take particular Care of your Imperial Majesty's Interests at the Treaty of *Carlowitz*, and persisting still in the same Thoughts, and the same Inclinations, to see your Imperial Majesty, and your Dominions enjoy the Fruits of Peace, as did the rest of the Princes of *Christendom*, upon the first Notification of your Desire to prolong your Truce with the Emperor of *Turky*, and that our Ambassador Extraordinary at the *Ottoman Port* could assist your

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‘ Imperial Majesty’s Ministers with his Counfels,
‘ and by his good Offices to attain your Defires, we
‘ presently concurr’d, and immediately gave our
‘ Orders to our Ambaffador at *Constantinople*, to act
‘ according to your Imperial Majesty’s Desire;
‘ which Negotiation being concluded by a long
‘ Truce, we congratulate your Imperial Majesty
‘ with all our Heart, for that happy Succels, as a
‘ Thing that will affuredly produce all Manner of
‘ Prosperity to your Imperial Majesty, and your
‘ Dominions and Countries. And having, in the
‘ laft Place, an occafion to fend a Squadron of our
‘ Men of War into the *Baltick* Sea, we gave ex-
‘ prefs Orders to our Admiral, and our Comman-
‘ ders, to diftinguifh your Imperial Majesty’s Ships,
‘ when they met them, and to treat them with all
‘ Civility and Friendfhip; and for the laft Testi-
‘ mony of the Value and Affection which we bare
‘ your Imperial Majesty, understanding by your
‘ Imperial Majesty’s Ambaffador, with the States-
‘ General of the united Provinces, that your Impe-
‘ rial Majesty was much difsatisfied with the Crown
‘ of *Sweden* by Reason of fome Injuries offered by
‘ fome of the Subjects of that Crown to your Impe-
‘ rial Majesty’s Ambaffadors and Plenipotentia-
‘ ries in their Paffage through *Lavonia*, and by the
‘ Delays in giving Answer to the Complaints made
‘ to their Ambaffador at your Imperial Majesty’s
‘ Court, we offer your Imperial Majesty our Medi-
‘ ation, and our beft Offices for an amicable Ac-
‘ commodation of all the Differences which may
‘ have happened between your Imperial Majesty
‘ and the King of *Sweden*, for whom we have a
‘ high Value, by reason of the antient and modern
‘ Treaties between our Crown and that of *Sweden*.
‘ And we doubt not but that his *Swedifh* Majesty
‘ will have fuch a Regard to us that he will hearken
‘ to our Perfwasions and our Counfels, and that
‘ he will give your Imperial Majesty all reason-
‘ able Satisfaction. Wherefore we earneftly in-
‘ treat your Imperial Majesty that you will be
‘ pleased

‘pleased on your Part, to listen to Terms of Accommodation ; and to that End, a Place may be agreed upon for terminating all Misunderstandings in a friendly Manner, and without coming to an open Rupture ; and that your Imperial Majesty will, in the mean Time, suspend all Acts of Hostility. We hope, the Differences, when they come to be examined, will appear to be of such a Nature, that it will be no difficult Matter to find Means to adjust them : And we have so high an Opinion of your Imperial Majesty’s Justice, Equity, and Honour, that we have Reason to believe that you will meet with our Offers and our friendly Cares, and will be ready to accept all reasonable Satisfaction from the Crown of *Sweden*, rather than enter into a War, which is the last Remedy, when all other Trials fail of Success ; and that you will, out of your Goodness have such a Regard for your Subjects as to suffer them to reap the Fruits of the Peace which your Imperial Majesty has fully procured them, and enjoy the Benefit of the Trade that has been so happily settled, and, within this little while, augmented between them and our Subjects and some of our neighbouring Nations ; and which being cultivated by the Continuance of Peace, will render your Majesty’s Dominions flourishing, and your Name no less Glorious for your Moderation in preferring the publick Tranquility before all other Considerations. Thus wishing your Imperial Majesty a long and prosperous Reign, we recommend you to the Protection of the Almighty. *Given at our Court, &c.*

Your affectionate Brother,

WILLIAM R.

After the Battle of *Narva* his Czarian Majesty sent the following Answers to this and another Letter from the States of the *United Provinces*.

WE the Grand Signior and Czarian Majesty have understood by your Royal Majesty's Letters, written from the *Hague*, the 23d of *October*, your Royal Majesty's singular Friendship toward our Czarian Majesty, and your Desire of the general Tranquility of *Europe*, if it should happen to be violated by any one; which you have also farther testify'd by taking Care of our Grand Signiorship's and Czarian Majesty's Affairs at *Carlowitz*, as if they had been your own; to the end our Czarian Majesty might partake of the Peace which the other Princes of Christendom enjoy'd; that afterwards at the Request of our Czarian Majesty, your Royal Majesty sent your Orders to your Ambassador at *Constantinople*, to the end that, without Delay, he should assist our Ministers with his good Offices and his Counsels for the Prolongation of the Truce, which, being concluded, your Royal Majesty congratulates our Czarian Majesty. That, moreover, your Royal Majesty, having an Occasion to send a Squadron of Men of War into the *Baltick Sea*, gave Orders to your Admiral, and other Captains and Commanders, to treat our Vessels, when they met them, with all manner of Friendship and Civility; and as a greater Testimony of your Value for our Czarian Majesty, when you were acquainted by our Ambassador, with the *States General* of the *united Provinces*, with the Injuries and Affronts that had been offered us by the Crown of *Sweden*, when our Plenipotentiary Ambassadors travell'd through *Livonia*, which was represented to the *Swedish* Ambassador at our Czarian Majesty's Court, your Royal Majesty was pleased to offer your Mediation and good Offices for accommodating these Differences, and this, our

of

of the singular Amity and by Reason of the Alliances which you had with the King of *Sweden*, not doubting but that the same King, in Consideration of your Royal Majesty, would lend an Ear to your Counsels, and give us all just Satisfaction. To which Purpose, your Royal Majesty desired that our Czarian Majesty would vouchsafe the re-establishing of that Amity, and to that End would agree upon a Place for the terminating all Misunderstandings after an amicable Manner, without coming to an open Rupture of the Peace; and that our Czarian Majesty would, in the mean Time, suspend all Acts of Hostility, your Royal Majesty hoping that these Differences might be determined without any Difficulty; and that reasonable Satisfaction would be given us by the Crown of *Sweden*, rather than enter into a War, which is the last Remedy after all other successful Trials; that we the Grand Signior and Czarian Majesty would have Respect to our Subjects, and suffer them to reap the Fruits of that Peace which had been procured them, and at the same Time enjoy their Trade, happily settled and lately augmented between the Confederates and other Nations; and that this Peace would render our Empire a flourishing Empire, if we would prefer the publick Tranquility. For these Reasons, we, the Grand Signior and Czarian Majesty take in good Part, and gratefully, the Assistance which was given by your Ambassador to the Ambassador of our Czarian Majesty, who was commissioned to treat with the *Turk* at *Carlowitz*, and the Share which you take in the other Concerns of our Grand Signiorship and Czarian Majesty; nor do we refuse your Royal Majesty's present Proposal for a Peace between us and the Crown of *Sweden*, in the War commenced for the Injuries they have done us. And we will forthwith give your Royal Majesty Knowledge of the Place which shall be made choice of for the Peace, when we shall have

communicated the whole to his Royal Majesty of Poland, as we are bound by the Alliance which is between us. In the mean Time our Grand Signiorship and Czarian Majesty beseech God to bless your Royal Majesty with long Health, and a favourable Government in your Kingdoms. Given at our Imperial Court at *Moscow*, the Metropolis of our Empire, in the Year of the Birth of God our Redeemer Jesus Christ 1700, in the Month of *December*, and of our Reign the 19th.

The Czar's Answer to the STATES-GENERAL.

WE, the Grand Signior and Czarian Majesty, have understood by your High and Mightinesses Letters dated from the *Hague*, September 29, 1700, That the repeated Confirmation made to your high Persons, as well by our Ambassador Resident at the *Hague*, as by the *Sieur Vander Hueft* your Resident at our Czarian Majesty's Court, that the Continuance of the Truce and Alliance with the Crown of *Sweden* was very agreeable to your Lordships, by Reason of the common Alliance, as well between our Czarian Majesty as with the Crown of *Sweden*. And in Regard that afterwards our Ambassador declared to some of the Commissioners from your Assembly, by Word of Mouth, and afterwards in Writing, our Czarian Majesty's good Intention for the Preservation of the Peace with the said Crown of *Sweden*, but, yet a little after that, as your Lordships may remember, with Condition, that our Czarian Majesty should, by your Mediation, receive Satisfaction from the King of *Sweden* for Injuries particularly offer'd in 1698 to our solemn Embassy travelling through *Livonia*, which Embassy your High and Mightinesses most courteously received, and gave Notice of our Demands to the King of *Sweden*, according to the Tenour

of the Memoir which our Ambassador presented to your Lordships, and having afterwards receiv'd an Answer from his Royal Majesty of *Sweden*, you sent it to our Czarian Majesty, in which Answer his Royal Majesty of *Sweden* declared his Inclination to maintain a good and sincere Amity and Neighbourhood with our Czarian Majesty, and that he would never be wanting to do Justice in the Differences fallen out between our Reciprocal Ministers, and much less in what concerned the Honour of our Czarian Majesty: For which Reason his Royal Majesty had sent Orders to M. *Lilienroot*, his Ambassador with your High and Mightinesses, to the End he should confer with the Lords deputed from your Assembly, and that he should do his utmost to adjust them; that your High and Mightinesses made no doubt that our Grand Signiorship and Czarian Majesty would admit of your Umpirage in the Affairs, which we had laid before your Lordships in Writing, assuring you that your High and Mightinesses good Offices could in no wise be disagreeable to our Czarian Majesty. For this Reason, you demanded, That, as his Royal Majesty of *Sweden* had given full Power to his Ambassador at the *Hague*, we would likewise give full Power to our Ambassador to confer with your Commissioners deputed from your Assembly, and to do what lay in their Power to accommodate all Things, assuring us that you would contribute what lay in your Power in that Affair, not doubting but that our Czarian Majesty, as well as his Royal *Swedish* Majesty would be thereto inclin'd. At the same Time, your High and Mightinesses gave us to understand, that his Royal Majesty of *Poland's* Minister had communicated to your Lordships the Copy of our Letters written to his King, touching the Declaration of War, and sending our Armies against the Crown of *Sweden*, which seemed to you very extraordinary, and you demanded again that he would

‘ consider what Difasters and Devastations of Lands
‘ and Men were occasioned by War, and how diffi-
‘ cult a Thing it was to terminate a War when
‘ once begun; and that our Czarian Majesty out of
‘ the same Equity and Love of Peace, which we
‘ had shewn at the Conclusion of Peace with the
‘ *Ottoman* Court, would undertake nothing that
‘ might violate the Peace; but if any Differences
‘ had happened between us and the King of *Swed-*
‘ *den*, we would terminate them by amicable Ac-
‘ commodations rather than by Arms, to which
‘ Effect your High and Mightinesses promised to
‘ contribute by your good Offices, nothing inclining
‘ you thereto but the Love of Peace, and the pub-
‘ lick Tranquility; and therefore you wished that
‘ there might be no Dispute, much less a War between
‘ our Czarian Majesty, and his Royal Majesty of
‘ *Sweden*, with whom you are in good Friendship,
‘ and that you hoped that we would be thereto well
‘ inclined. And in Regard your High and Mighti-
‘ nesses, in your Letters to our Czarian Majesty,
‘ testified your Mistrust upon two Points, first, be-
‘ cause you had been twice assured by us of our
‘ Friendship with the Crown of *Sweden*, neverthe-
‘ less that now our Grand Signiorship and Czarian
‘ Majesty give Notice to your High and Mighti-
‘ nesses of a Declaration of War against that Crown.
‘ Secondly, you seem to doubt of the Equity of
‘ the Case, on the Assurances we have given you;
‘ but you are to know, that his Royal *Swedish* Ma-
‘ jesty’s Ambassadors had positively assured, that his
‘ said Royal Majesty would give us a total Satis-
‘ faction for the Injuries, more especially that which
‘ had been done us at *Riga*; upon which Assurances
‘ our Grand Signiorship and Czarian Majesty wait-
‘ ed several Months, but in Regard that after a
‘ long Expectation of an agreeable and amicable
‘ Satisfaction of our Grand Signiorship and Czarian
‘ Majesty received, by the Hands of the *Swedish*
‘ Commissioner *Kniper*, an Answer, subscribed with
‘ the

the King's own Hand, so far from giving any Satisfaction that it rather contained a Justification of the Authors, as if those Injuries had been Counterfeit and remote from Truth. Wherefore our Grand Signiorship and Czarian Majesty thought fit to handle that Affair after another Manner, and have been forced to revenge Injury with Injury : Nevertheless, in Christianity, we do not refuse a reasonable Peace, nor your offered Umpirage, provided it be not after the same Manner, or with the same Violence as was offered to *Denmark* in the Affair of *Holstein*. Your High and Mightinesses represent to us the great Inconveniences of War, and the doubtful Success of it, but that is nothing to the Equity, as may be seen by the Success of the Peace with the Porte, where our Grand Signiorship and Czarian Majesty were abandoned by all the World ; yet by the Assistance of the Almighty, and the Favour of our Christian Intention, we brought it to pass, and not less advantageously than others. According to our antient Amity our Grand Signiorship and Czarian Majesty cannot refuse your High and Mightinesses Demand, and we wish, that, by your Mediation, a happy Peace may be re-established with the Crown of *Sweden*, to which Effect we shall with Impatience expect your Ambassadors.

Notwithstanding the Impatience with which he expected these Ambassadors of Peace, he lost no Time to provide for his Forces both by Land and Sea ; and while these were getting ready, he continued with great Vigilance the Reformation of his People and Government.

* The *Russians* had a great Veneration for long Beards, which it was their Custom to wear hanging on their Bosoms, comb'd out with great Pride and kept very smooth. They let the Hair on their upper

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Lips

* *Captain Perry's State of Russia.*

Lips grow so long that it would dip in the Cup when ever they drank, so that they were obliged to wipe them after it, which was a nauseous Sight to such as were not used to it.

The *Russians* valued their Beards the more because in that they differed from Strangers, whom they generally hated; but the Czar was resolv'd his Subjects should look like other People, and therefore laid a Tax of a hundred Roubles *per Annum*, on all Gentlemen who wore Beards, except the Priests; the common People were obliged to pay a Copec at the Gate of every Town or City which they entered, and Persons were there placed to collect it; but such was their Regard for what they foolishly thought an Ornament to their Faces, that there were many who would have given any Thing to have preserved it, and when the Czar found he could not overcome their Prejudice in this Point, without using Force, they would offer large Bribes to those who came to execute his Orders. And it must have been a diverting Scene to behold the Executioners scampering after these venerable Grey-Beards in the Streets, who fled from them as they would from so many Hangmen.

His Majesty would order Persons to be shaved at his own Table, and sometimes so roughly that some of the Skin of the most obstinate was taken away with the Beard; the Fear of being thus handled made abundance comply; but since they could not preserve their Beards on their Faces living, many laid them up carefully to be buried with them when dead, that they might be able to give St. *Nicholas* an Account of them in the other World. This shaving their Beards was look'd upon in the Czar as a great Breach of Religion. How many foolish and even wicked Customs and Practices have been cloaked under that sacred Name! The Czar, on this Account had Libels wrote against him, and dropt about the Streets of *Moscow*, charging him with Tyranny and Atheism.

His

His Majesty resolv'd next to alter the Fashion of his People's Dress, which he thought troublesome to the Men, unbecoming and ridiculous in the Women. But even of this, as well as every other Change he wrought among them, the People, insensible of the Benefits he designed them, made great Complaints and Murmurings. An Order was first published to prohibit all *Russians* to appear out of their Houses, but in a Coat of the *Polish* Fashion, which was much the same with the *French* and *English*. The Servants of Strangers were the first on whom this Order was executed, who, if they were seen abroad without complying with it, were taken from behind the Sledges of their Masters, and made to pay a Fine, or be sent to Prison: But this not affecting the common People they took no Notice of it, till severer Means were used with them.

Their former Habit was a long Vest which reached down almost to their Feet, and was plaited on the Hips not much unlike the Woman's Petticoat. His Majesty obliged all his Boyars, and whoever should come to Court, to provide themselves with *English* Dresses, upon Pain of his Displeasure, and such as could afford it were to trim their Cloaths with Gold or Silver. He commanded a Pattern of the *English* Coat to be hung up at every Gate of the City of *Moscow*, and that every Body should conform to that in making their Cloaths; and if any one should presume to disobey his Orders, and be found passing any of the Gates of the City in their long Habits, except the poor Peasants that brought Provisions to the Markets, they should be obliged to pay two Grevens, [about the value of twenty Pence *English*] or kneel down at the Gates, and have all that Part of their Cloaths cut off which lay on the Ground while they were so on their Knees.

The Women, and especially the Ladies about the Court, were ordered to reform their Dress likewise according to the *English* Fashion; they had some Things in the ancient Habits very odd, particularly their Shift-Sleeves were sometimes four or five
Ells

Ells in Length, which, when they saluted a Stranger, they used to fling out almost a-cross a Room, and when the Stranger had taken the End up and kiss'd it, they used to gather it again about their Arms. There was another Alteration the Czar made in Favour of the Women, which the more easily reconciled them to that of their Dress. It had been the Custom, at all Entertainments in *Russia*, for the Women not to be admitted into the Presence or Conversation of the Men. In all the Houses of Gentlemen of any Fashion, there was a particular Entrance made for the Women, and they were always kept in separate Apartments; only when the Master of the Family had a Mind to do Honour to an extraordinary Guest he would bring his Wife, by a back Way from her Apartment, attended by her Maids. She was then to pay the Compliments of her Shift-Sleeve, and present the Company with a Bumper of Brandy round, and afterwards to retire by the same Way she came, and to be seen no more. But the Czar now, to shew his Gallantry to the *Russian* Ladies, order'd that from henceforth, at all Weddings, and publick Entertainments, the Women, as well the Men, should be invited, but they were to appear in *English* Dresses, and that they should be entertained in the same Room with the Men, whom his Majesty, by the Retrenchment of their Beards, had made much more agreeable to them. He order'd that the Evenings should conclude with Musick and Dancing, as he had seen in Foreign Countries; and he would often be present himself, at these Entertainments, with most of his Nobility and the Ladies of his Court. There was no Wedding of any Distinction, especially among the Foreingers, but the Czar had Notice of it, and would honour it with his Presence, usually making a Present to the Bride suitable to the extraordinary Expence of such Entertainment, and especially if married to any Officer newly come into the Country.

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There was another thing also which the Women were well pleased with in his Majesty's new Regulations. It had been the Custom in *Russia* for Matches to be made up by the Parents of each Side, without the Consent of the young People, or their hardly seeing one another. The Czar considering that this unacceptable Way of joining young People together, without their own Approbation, might in a great Measure be the Occasion of that Discord and little Love which was shewn to one another afterwards, it being a common Thing for the Men in *Russia* to beat their Wives in so barbarous a Manner that they often died of the Blows, and none of them suffered for the Murder, it being interpreted in the Law there, as being done only for Correction, and therefore not at all culpable. The Wives, on the other Hand, being thus many times made desperate would murder their Husbands, in Revenge for their ill Usage; but the Sentence on such Occasions was, that the Woman should be buried alive in the Ground, standing upright, with the Earth fill'd about her, and only her Head above the Earth, with a Watch set over her, to see that no one relieved her, but that she should be starved to Death; the People were not hindered from throwing Copecks into the Pit, where she was buried, and those were laid out in Tapers to be lighted up in Honour of the Saints she called upon.

It was a very common Sight in *Russia* to see Women thus executed, who have been seven or eight Days dying. These sad Spectacles made the Czar, in pity to his People, do all that was possible to remove the Occasion of it, and therefore order'd, that no young Couple should marry, for the future, without their own good Liking and Consent; and that all Persons should be admitted to visit and see one another, at least six Weeks before their Marriage. This new Order was so very agreeable, especially to the younger Sort, that they began to conceive much better of the Foreigners, from whom the Czar had learnt these Customs.

His

His Majesty took Notice, in answer to the Complaints of those who disliked the Alterations he made in *Russia*, that the Customs of the Country had been much alter'd and improved in the Course of Time, and that there was no more ill in doing it at once, than in the Course of five hundred Years; as a Proof of their having been so altered, he made the following Representation.

In the Year 1701, one of his Jesters being to be married to a very pretty Woman, he ordered all his Lords and Gentlemen that were in his Favour, with several Foreigners, to be invited to the Wedding; and gave his Commands, that every Person who was invited, and whose Names were all set down in Writing, should provide themselves with the same Habit that was worn in *Russia*, in the Days of their Forefathers, about two hundred Years before; and that the whole Ceremony should be performed after the same Manner as it was at that Time. The Boyars had a long Cap on their Heads at least a Foot higher than was then the Fashion, and were in an awkward gaudy Dress, not easy to describe; the Furniture of their Horses was fixed after an unusual Manner, some of the Boyars of the first Rank had for the Reins of their Bridle a Silver Chain, the Links of which were about an Inch and a half, or two Inches Broad, made of thin Silver beat out flat, and the Breast-Plate and Crupper were dress'd with little Square Pieces of the same thin Silver, which, with the Motion of the Horse, struck against each other, and made a kind of jingling like Bells, as they rode; among these was his Majesty in the same Habit with his Lords, one of the old Boyars being appointed to represent the Czar for the Day, in a mock Dress. Persons of meaner Rank, who could not have their Horses Furniture adorned with Silver, used Tin.

The Women, who were invited to this Wedding, were ordered also to be dressed after the old *Russian* Fashion, their Shift-Sleeves were at least twelve Yards long, contracted into a Ruff, as much as would

would lie between their Shoulders and their Wrists, with their upper Vestment only covering their Bodies, and the Heels of their Shoes or Slippers near five Inches high ; they rode in Machines or Waggon's set only upon Axletrees and Wheels, without any Leathers or Swing to make them easy, and there were short Ladders ty'd on the Side of each Waggon, like those of the present *Tartars*, to get up, which Waggon's were hooped over at one End, where the Women sat covered with red Cloth. In this Order Captain *Perry* tells us, he saw them march to the House of the deceased General *Le Fort*, which was built at the Czar's Charge.

There were several Tables spread in a very large Hall according to the Degrees and Ranks of the Guests, and at the upper End there was one Table placed upon a Throne about three Feet higher than the Rest, at which sat the mock Czar with a mock Patriarch, to whom the Company advanced by gradual Steps, and bowed their Heads to the Ground at several proper Distances as they advanced, and then being called by their Names, every one kiss'd, first the Mock Czar's Hand, and then the Mock Patriarch's, upon which a Dram of Brandy was presented to each Man, both by the Czar and the Patriarch ; this last Name he always, after he abolished the Office, gave to a Buffoon, who, instead of the patriarchal Cross, was obliged to wear the Figure of a Gibbet on his Breast.

When the Company had receiv'd their Cups of Brandy, they retired backward from the Throne to about twenty Feet distance, and all the Way made their Bows as they went back : And a splendid Entertainment was prepared for them after the old fashion Way.

The next Regulation of the Czar's related to the Noblemens Retinues. It had been a pompous Custom among all the great Boyars, to retain in their Service, as a Piece of State and Grandeur, a great Number of superfluous Servants, which, when they
went

went abroad, walked bare-headed before them, and others following in a long Train, in all sorts of Dresses, and Colours; and when the Boyars rode on Horseback, or went in their Coaches or Sledges, it was thought the more stately to go a slow Pace, that these Attendants might keep up with them on Foot, uncover'd in the hardest Rains or utmost Severity of cold Weather; the great Ladies were wont to have the same numerous Retinues; but the Czar *Peter*, who always rode swift himself, set them another Example, for he only went himself with a few Servants, on Horseback, cloathed in a handsome and uniform Livery, and order'd his Boyars, his other Courtiers, and all Persons of Distinction to do the same. And that his Orders might be the more effectual, soon after he came from his Travels, he ordered a List to be taken of all the loose Attendants that hung about Boyars Houses, and commanded them to be sent to the Army. This went much against the Grain, and great Intercessions were made, and Sums of Money given for many of them to be excused, especially for such of these Attendants as were really Gentlemen and waited on the Lords only in Expectation of Preferment; but however, the Czar's Orders were to be obey'd, and there was a Draught made of several thousand unnecessary and supernumerary Attendants, who were all sent into the Army, to which his Majesty himself was now going with much Expedition.

It has been said before, that he had employed all Means to recruit his Forces, and, in order the better to concert Measures for the ensuing Campaign, an Interview was agreed upon between the Czar and his Ally *Augustus* King of Poland, which was held at *Birsen*, a small Town in *Lithuania*, without any of those Formalities which do but too much retard Business; they remained here fifteen Days together, and spent a great Part of the Time in Pleasures, and that Excess of Drinking, which is the common Vice of the *Muscovites*, and one of the greatest Failings in the Czar *Peter*.

At

At this Interview King *Augustus* promised the Czar fifty thousand *German* Troops, which he undertook to hire of the Princes of the Empire, and the Czar was to pay them, who, on his Side, agreed to send a like Number of *Muscovites* into *Poland* to be trained up in military Discipline, and in two Years Time was to supply King *Augustus* with three Million of Rix-Dollars.

When the King of *Sweden* was inform'd of the Designs of the Czar and the King of *Poland*, he hastened into *Livonia*, and arrived at *Riga*, on the Banks of the *Duna*, over against the *Saxon* Army, who lay encamp'd on the other Side the River, and with whom he was to dispute the Passage. He caused Boats to be made after an Invention of his own, the Sides of which were moveable, and made to lift up and let down, like Draw-Bridges, that they might be of use to cover the Troops in their Passage, and favour their Descent when they came to Land. Having likewise observed that the Wind blew directly from the North where he lay, to the South, where his Enemies were encamp'd, he set Fire to a large Heap of wet Straw, the Smoak of which spreading cross the River, prevented the Enemy from seeing his Troops or knowing what he was doing.

The King of *Poland* was then ill in Bed, so the *Saxon* Army was commanded by the Duke of *Courland*, and Marshal *Stenau*. That brave General fell upon the *Swedish* Battalions with his Horse, before they were quite drawn up, and drove them into the River; but being soon rallied by the King, they advanced with such Fury against the Marshal that they obliged him likewise to retreat. The Duke of *Courland* made his Troops retire very dexterously into a dry Place, flanked with a Morass, and Wood, where his Artillery lay. The *Saxons* by this Advantage of Ground began to recover their Courage; but after an obstinate and bloody Battle, the King of *Sweden* having fifteen thousand Men, and the Duke of *Courland* but twelve thousand, *Charles* obtained a
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compleat Victory. The Duke of *Courland* had two Horses shot under him, and had penetrated three times into the midst of the *Swedish* Guards; but being at last knocked off his Horse by a Musket, and trampled under the Feet of the Horses, his Army fell into Confusion, and it was with much Difficulty that his Curiaffiers carried him off all over Bruises and half dead.

The King of *Sweden*, upon this Victory, hasten'd to *Mittaw*, and soon took that City, the Capital of *Courland*. All the rest of the Towns in that Dutchy yielded to him at Discretion, and having appointed General *Lewenhaupt* Viceroy of that Country, he pass'd on with Expedition, to *Lithuania*, conquering wherever he came. At *Birsen*, where the Czar and the King of *Poland* had met to contrive his Ruin, he first formed the Scheme of dethroning *Augustus*.

The Misfortunes of the King of *Poland* gave Courage to his secret Enemies to take Advantage of him. He was compelled to hold a General Diet at *Warsaw*, on the twenty-second of *December* 1701, in which Assembly the Spirit of Liberty, that prevails so much in *Poland*, shew'd itself in Language never heard by other Princes. His Subjects openly oppos'd him, under Pretence of the publick Good. The chief Subjects of this Country, proud of their Freedom, may be said to be Tyrants over their King, whom they choose more to encrease their own Authority than with an Intent to be govern'd by him. And that Prince's Conduct had lost him the Affection of many of his Friends, and greatly exasperated his Enemies, who were much encreased in Number. Some of the Palatinates indeed made him believe he might arm the *Polish* Nobility against the *Swedes*, which gave him hopes of the *Pespolite* or Army of the Republick, before which a great Body of Forces, joined by the *Saxons* his Subjects, and the *Muscovites* his Allies, he thought the small Number of *Swedes* would scarce venture to appear. But he soon found that he had very little Authority in the Diet, most of
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the Members making no Scruple to own themselves in the King of *Sweden's* Interest, more out of Jealousy of the Designs of their own King upon their Liberties than any Friendship for the other. They charged *Augustus* with being the Author of the Troubles in *Lithuania*, and of all the Ills that had befallen the State, and, among other Things, talked of sending an Embassy, in the Name of the Republick, to the King of *Sweden*; but before this Point was carried, the *Diet* broke up by the Retreat of one of the Deputies.

Augustus, in these Straits, called together a Council of the Senate; the Members of which Assembly appeared somewhat better Courtiers than those of the *Diet*, who had so openly declared their Illwill to the King; but, under a Pretence of reconciling his Interest with the Security of the Republick, gave his Authority a yet deeper Wound than the other had done; and at last concluded to send the Embassy debated upon in the *Diet*: But *Augustus* resolved to be beforehand with them in this, for he had but too much Reason to fear that his particular Interest would be little regarded, if not intirely ruined by them: He therefore chose rather to receive Laws from his Conqueror than his Subjects.

He made choice of the Countess of *Koningsmar* to be his Ambassadress on this Occasion; she was a *Swedish* Lady by Birth, of a great Family, and had an Estate in *Charles's* Dominions; and her Wit and Beauty made the King of *Poland* imagine, that a young Victor would be able to deny her nothing, and be as much subdued by her Charms as he had been himself. Having received her Instructions, she went to the *Swedish* Camp in *Lithuania*; but *Charles* obstinately refused to see her. *Augustus* afterwards sent his Chamberlain *Wiczdum*, with fresh Instructions to the King of *Sweden*; but they having neglected to demand a Passport for him, he was seized as soon as he came within Sight of the Camp, and thrown into Prison.

The

1702. The King of *Poland* was now forced again to have Recourse to the Senate, tho' he knew them to be his Enemies. He offered to call in twelve thousand *Saxons*, and to put himself at the Head of the Army of the Republick, and pay them two Quarters, out of his own Privy Purse, beforehand. The Senate answered him, that the Republick would send an Embassy to the King of *Sweden*, to procure Peace; and as for the *Saxons*, his Majesty could not introduce them into *Poland* without disobliging the whole Nation.

Charles XII. treated the Embassy of the Republick with no more Respect than that of the King, being not at all pleased that they would still have any Thing to do with him; for such was the implacable Temper, which was one of the greatest Faults of this young Heroe, that where he had once taken a Dislike, he was never to be reconciled; he answered the Senate, that they should know what he thought of their Proposal when he came to *Warsaw*: And set forward the same Day on his March to that City, having sent before him a Manifesto, in which he declared himself the Friend and Protector of the Republick. The Senators, who were the Enemies of *Augustus*, published this Manifesto in his View; and, upon the Approach of the King of *Sweden*, his Friends, through Weakness, deserted him; none remained with him, but the Ambassadors of the Emperor and the Czar, the Pope's Nuncio, and some few Bishops and Palatines, who were attached to his Fortune. Before he left *Warsaw*, he got leave from the few Senators left about him, to introduce six thousand *Saxons*, and dispose of the Troops of the Republick. He likewise gave Orders for the Nobility to take the Field, but this was little regarded. The Terror of the *Swedish* Arms, and the Hatred they bore him, kept the *Poles* upon their Estates, waiting the Event of this great Affair. The King of *Poland*, thus deserted by his Subjects, brought twenty thousand *Saxons* into the Country, no longer fearing how much he exasperated

ted a Nation that betrayed him. The King of *Sweden*, on his Part, prepared to give his Enemy a warm Reception. He let the Cardinal Primate into his Intentions at *Warsaw*, who was a secret Enemy of *Augustus*, and of whom *M. de Voltaire* gives the following Character.

‘ Cardinal *Radjousky*, Archbishop of *Gnesna*, Primate of *Poland*, was a Man full of Artifice and Reserve; entirely governed by an ambitious Woman, whom the *Swedens* called *Madam Cardinale*, and who never ceased to push him on to Intrigue and Faction. The Primate’s Talent lay chiefly in making his Advantage of the Conjunctions which fell in his Way, without endeavouring himself to bring them about. He would appear unresolved when the most determined in his Projects; going always to gain his Ends by those Ways, which seemed the most to oppose them. King *John Sobiesky*, the Predecessor of *Augustus*, had formerly made him Bishop of *Warmerlandt*, and Vice Chancellor of the Kingdom. Whilst *Radjousky* was only a Bishop, he obtain’d the Cardinal’s Hat, by the same King’s Favour. This Dignity quickly opened to him the Way to the Primacy; and thus having united in him all that imposes on Men, he was in a Capacity of undertaking a great deal with Impunity.

‘ He tried all his Interest on the Death of *John* to place *James Sobiesky* on the Throne; but the Torrent of the Peoples Hatred ran so strong against the Father, as great a Man as he was, that it bore down the Son. The Cardinal Primate then joined with the Abbe *de Polignac*, Ambassador of *France*, to give the Crown to the Prince of *Conti*, who was in Reality elected, but the Money and Troops of *Saxony*, far out-did the Eloquence of the Abbe *de Polignac*. The Cardinal Primate gave into the Party that crowned *Augustus*, and partly waited for an Occasion to sow Division between *Poland* and the new King.

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‘ The Victories of *Charles XII.* the Protector of
 ‘ Prince *James Sobiesky*, the Civil War in *Lithuania*,
 ‘ and the general Disaffection of the *Poles* to King
 ‘ *Augustus* gave the Cardinal Hopes that the Time
 ‘ was now come when he might be able to send *Augustus*
 ‘ back into *Saxony*, and pave a Way for the
 ‘ Son of King *John* to ascend the Throne. This
 ‘ Prince, formerly the innocent Object of the *Polanders*
 ‘ Hatred, was, since *Augustus* had disobliged
 ‘ them, become their Idol: But he durst not conceive
 ‘ any Hopes of so great a Revolution. Nevertheless
 ‘ the Cardinal had insensibly laid the
 ‘ Foundation of it.

‘ He seemed at first to endeavour to reconcile
 ‘ the King and the Republick. He sent his circular
 ‘ Letters dictated, in Appearance, by that Spirit of
 ‘ Concord and Charity, which, tho’ usual and
 ‘ known Snares, seldom fail to entrap. He wrote
 ‘ a moving Letter to the King of *Sweden*, beseeching
 ‘ in that Name which all Christians equally
 ‘ adore, to give Peace to *Poland* and her King.
 ‘ *Charles XII.* answered more to the Intentions of the
 ‘ Cardinal than to his Words. He remained in the
 ‘ great Dutchy of *Lithuania*, with a victorious
 ‘ Army, declaring that he would not trouble the
 ‘ Diet; that he made War against *Augustus*, and
 ‘ the *Saxons*, and not against the *Polanders*; that,
 ‘ far from attacking the Republick, he came to free
 ‘ them from Oppression. These Letters and Answers
 ‘ were for the Publick; but the Emissaries that
 ‘ continually went between the Cardinal and Count
 ‘ *Piper*, and the private Assemblies at the Cardinal’s
 ‘ House, were the Springs by which the Diet
 ‘ moved. They proposed to send an Embassy to
 ‘ *Charles XII.* and unanimously demanded of the
 ‘ King that he should call no more *Muscovites* to
 ‘ their Frontiers, and that he should send back his
 ‘ *Saxon Troops*.

The ill Fortune of *Augustus* had already made
 him do what the Diet would have exacted from
 him:

him: The League secretly concluded between him and the Czar at *Birsén*, was become as useless as at first it was thought formidable. He was far from being able to send the Czar the fifty thousand Men he had promised to raise in *Germany*. The Czar himself was under no Concern to assist a divided Kingdom, but contented himself with sending about twenty thousand Men into *Lithuania*.

King *Augustus* knew very well, that his introducing so many *Saxon* Troops into *Poland*, had exasperated all Men against him, as it was a Violation of his Agreement with his own Party; but he knew also, that if he was Conqueror they durst not complain, and that if he was conquer'd they would never forgive his having brought in even the six thousand.

While the *Saxons* were coming in Troops, and he himself going from one Palatinate to another to get together the Nobility that adhered to him, *Charles XII.* arrived on the fifth of *May* 1702, at *Warsaw*. The Gates were opened to him upon the first Summons. King *Augustus* was at that Time assembling his Forces at *Cracow*, and could not but be a little surprized to see the Cardinal Primate one of the Company. This Man, says *Monsieur de Voltaire*, whose Heart burnt within him to finish the Work he had begun, pretended to keep up the Decency of his Character to the last, and to dethrone his King with all the respectful Behaviour of a good Subject. He told him that the King of *Sweden* appeared to be disposed to a reasonable Accommodation, and humbly begged leave that he might attend him. King *Augustus* granted him what he could not refuse, the Liberty of doing him a Mischief.

The Cardinal Primate thus palliating the Scandal of his Conduct, by the Addition of Treachery, made haste to visit the King of *Sweden*, to whom he had never yet ventured to present himself. He saw his Majesty at *Praag*, not far from *Warsaw*, but without the Ceremonies which had been used to
be

be paid to the Ambassadors of the Republick. The King advanced some Steps to meet him, and they had a Conference together, standing, of about a quarter of an Hour; which *Charles* put an End to, by saying aloud, 'I will never give the *Poles* Peace, 'till they have elected another King.' The Cardinal, who waited for this Declaration, immediately gave Notice of it to all the Palatinates, assuring them, that he was extreemly concerned at it; and at the same Time laying before them the Necessity of complying with the Conqueror.

The King of *Poland* now saw plainly, that he must either lose his Crown, or preserve it by a Battle, and used his utmost Efforts to succeed in that great Decision. His *Saxon* Troops were all arrived from the Frontiers of his Electorate, and the Nobility of the Palatinate of *Cracow*, where he yet remained, came in a Body to offer him their Services. He exhorted every one of these Gentlemen to remember the Oaths they had taken; and they assured him they would fight to the last Drop of their Bloods in his Defence.

On the nineteenth of *July* 1702, the two Kings met, in a large Plain near *Clissau* between *Warsaw* and *Cracow*; *Augustus* had near twenty-four thousand Men, and *Charles* not above half that Number. The Battle began with playing the Artillery. Upon the first Volley, which was discharged by the *Saxons*, the Duke of *Holstein*, who commanded the *Swedish* Horse, received a Cannon Ball in the Reins: He was Brother in Law to *Charles*, and was a Prince of great Courage and many Virtues.

The King of *Poland* behaved like a Prince that was fighting for his Crown, he led up his Troops thrice to the Charge in Person; but Fortune was on *Charles's* Side, who obtained a compleat Victory; the Camp, Colours, Artillery, and *Augustus's* War Chest were all left to him, and he himself fled before the Victor, who pursued him to *Cracow*, where the Citizens were bold enough to shut their Gates against the Conqueror. He caused them to be burst open;

open ; took the Castle by assault ; and made them pay sufficiently for their Rashness by laying them under a heavy Contribution.

The King of *Sweden* left *Gracow* with a full Resolution of pursuing *Augustus* without allowing him any Respite : But an Accident which happened to him, had like to have given a new Turn to Affairs. As he was marching from *Gracow*, his Horse falling under him, broke his Thigh, which confined him to his Bed for six Weeks : Upon which a Rumour was spread all over *Europe*, that he was trampled to Death under his Horse's Feet.

This Piece of false Intelligence gave new Spirits, for a while, to the Followers of King *Augustus*, and threw his Enemies into Despair. He took Advantage of the Occasion, and assembled all the Orders of the Kingdom at *Mariembourg*, and then at *Lublin* ; there were but few of the *Palatinates* which did not send their Deputies, and what with his Presence, his Promises, and his courteous Behaviour, he regained the Affections of almost all of them. The Diet was soon undeceived concerning the false Report of the King of *Sweden's* Death, but they had before been determined to swear Fealty to their King ; the honest Cardinal among the rest. They agreed to maintain fifty thousand Men for his Service at their own Expence, and were to give the *Swedes* six Weeks Times, to declare whether they intended War or Peace.

The End of the Fourth B O O K.



BOOK V.

The CONTENTS.

The Swedes beaten in Livonia. The Czar takes Nottebourg and Mariembourg. The Birth and Rise of the Empress Catherine. The Czar's publick Entry into Moscow. Builds Petersburgh. Augustus King of Poland deposed. The Czar's Letter to the Primate and Senators of the Republick of Poland on that Account. He takes Narva. Builds Cronstot. The Battle of Gemaurthoff. The Czar's Manifesto upon his entering Poland. The Swedes make two fruitless Attempts on Petersbourg and Cronstot. The Czar subdues all the Provinces of Courland and Lithuania.

CHARLES, now recovered of his Wound, overturned all before him, he called together an Assembly at *Warsaw*, to oppose that of *Lublin*; and continued so firm in his Resolution of dethroning *Augustus*, that he said, *if he staid fifty Years he would not leave Poland till he had accomplished it.* This was at a Time when some of his Generals represented to him the Mischiefs the *Muscovite* Troops were doing, who daily engaged with his, and oftentimes with much Disadvantage to the *Swedes*, in *Livonia*, *Esthonia*, and *Ingria*. The Field-Marshal General *Czeremetoff* had twice defeated a Body of Men under General *Schlippenbach's* Command. The *Muscovite* General first entered *Livonia*, in the Month of *July*, with a numerous Army, and advanced as far as *Erestferet*. General *Schlippenbach*, as soon as he had Intelligence of this, detached a Party of three hundred Horse to observe their Motions. This Party met with a Body of a thousand *Muscovites*, which they attack'd and drove

to the main Body of the Army : But the *Swedish* Cavalry, being surprized at their great Numbers, retreated in Confusion, and, being pursued by the *Muscovites*, lost several of their Men. General *Schlippenbach*, being informed of what had happened, rode himself to reconoitre the Enemy, and presently perceiving they had a Design to environ his small Body, he judged it convenient, by the Advice of a Council of War, to cross the River *Emback*, to prevent their Intention, which was done in View of the Enemy, over two Bridges that were broke down as soon as the Men were got over : But the River being then very low, and the *Muscovite* General making use of several Pontons to wade over his Artillery, he soon forced the *Swedes* to a Battle : The Advantage was at first on the Side of the latter, some of the *Muscovites* having thrown themselves into the River, but the rest, faced about on a sudden, put the *Finland* Cavalry into such Disorder that they fell foul upon their own Infantry, and betook themselves to Flight without any Possibility of being rallied, so that the *Swedes* lost their Artillery, and had their Infantry, after a stout Resistance, almost all cut to Pieces. This Action began at six in the Morning, and lasted ten Hours. The *Swedish* General *Schlippenbach* would fain have rallied his Men, and have posted them at *Helmer* ; but finding it impossible to stop the Horse that were fled and dispersed, and being no longer able to stand his Ground with the Remains of his small Body, he was forced to retreat to *Pernau*.

The *Swedes*, on this Occasion, lost seven Captains, thirty Lieutenants and Ensigns, five and twenty Subalterns, thirty-seven Drums, and one thousand nine hundred and sixteen common Men. The Loss was likewise very great on the Side of the *Russians*, but from their great Numbers was hardly perceptible.

His Czarish Majesty himself, when he had made all necessary Dispositions in the frontier Places and Fortresses, marched at the Head of his Army, and

took the Fortrefs of *Orefcheck*, or * *Noteburg*, which was the Capital City of *Ingermania*, lying on the Gulph of *Finland*, upon an Ifland, a little below where the *Neva* runs out of the Lake *Ladoga*. This had been taken from the *Ruffians* by *Gustavus Adolphus* in the Year 1614, though ftrongly fortified by Nature; to this Fortrefs his Majesty afterwards gave the Name of *Slutelbourg*, *Slytel*, in the *German* fignifying a *Key*, and indeed it proved fuch to the *Czar*, opening to him a Paffage for his Conquefts over the *Swedes*.

About this Time his Czarifh Majesty published an Edict to encourage all Sorts of Artificers, Workmen, and People uſing Manufactures, and other Perſons profeſſing Trades and Sciences, to come and fettle in his Dominions, promiſing them that as ſoon as they were arrived upon the Frontiers, they ſhould be conducted, at his Majesty's Expence, where they ſhould deem it moſt convenient to fettle themſelves. That they ſhould have the free Exerciſe of their Religion, and the Convenience of Churches. That they ſhould have the Liberty to employ themſelves in whatſoever they thought moſt for their Advantage, without being ſubject to any Duties, Offices, or Impoſts. That as for thoſe who ſhould find themſelves capable to undertake any Trade, and ſhould not have wherewithal to follow it, his Majesty promiſed to ſupply them with Money out of his Treafury, without any Intereſt. And laſtly, ſuch as were unwilling to ſtay in his Dominions ſhould have Licences to depart; and at their firſt Requeſt ſhould be conducted, at the *Czar's* Expence, to the Fronties, or to any Sea-Port.

How much theſe Promiſes were to be relied on, we have already ſhewn in the Caſe of Captain *Perry*, and in thoſe of Mr. *Fergharſon* and others.

His Czarifh Majesty's Forces, under the Command of Lieutenant General *Baur*, next made themſelves

Maſters

* This Town was built above four hundred Years ago, by a Princeſs of *Novogorod*, named *Marfa*.

Masters of *Mariembourg*, which was, it is true, but meanly defended by a few *Swedish* Troops, and of itself no very strong Place. Among the Prisoners taken in this Town, was *Catharine*, who afterwards became Empress of *Russia*. Of the Birth and first Rise of this most illustrious Woman, *Monf. de la Motraye* gives the following Account in his Travels.

* ‘ The general Voice of the Country says, it was on the Banks of the Lake *Worthsy*, in a Village called *Rungben*, that the Heroine drew her first Breath, and not in the Neighbourhood of *Dorpt*, as those who have wrote her Life, in divers Languages, would make us believe. † These Writers, to make her Life the more illustrious, have some of them given her for her Father a Lieutenant-Colonel of the Family of *Abendeil*, others Colonel *Rosen*; but the common Report is, that she was a Vassal of this Colonel, who, dying when she was but four or five Years of Age, as her Mother did soon after, there was nothing left for her Subsistence; for it is rare that the Vassals of the *Livonian* and *Russian* Nobility leave any Thing to their Children. The Parish Clerk who kept a School, took her as his own, till Doctor *Gluck*, Minister of *Mariembourg*, happening to come to that Village, liked the Girl; and being willing to ease the Clerk, whose Income was very small, carried her Home with him. Our Writers agree pretty well as to this Circumstance, and the miserable Condition in which young *Catharine* was left, which is suitable to that of a Vassal, such as her Father was; but not of a Lord of the Manor, as they would make him: For, is it natural to suppose, that if she had been

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* *M. de la Motraye*, Vol. III. p. 128, 129.

† In one Account of *Catharine*, printed at Zerbst in *Anbault*, she is said to be the Widow of Lieutenant Colonel *Tiessenhausen*; but this is mentioned by no one besides.

‘ the Daughter of *M. Rosen*, or was acknowledged
 ‘ by him as such, he would have left her nothing
 ‘ in his Will when he died? or that his Heirs and
 ‘ Relations, if he had married her Mother, would
 ‘ have taken no manner of Care of her? Is it not
 ‘ better, and more agreeable to Truth, to let
 ‘ *Catherine* owe her Greatness to her own Merit,
 ‘ and to the *Czar Peter* the First? The Meaner
 ‘ her Birth is, the more glorious and honourable is
 ‘ her Elevation.

‘ *M. Gluck* treated her almost in the same Man-
 ‘ ner that he would one of his Daughters, and his
 ‘ Wife, finding her endued with good and virtu-
 ‘ ous Inclinations, loved her as much; as she seemed
 ‘ naturally to hate Idleness, she was employed in
 ‘ Works suitable to her Age, as spinning, sowing,
 ‘ &c. She did every Thing well that she under-
 ‘ took, and many Things in the House of her own
 ‘ accord, which could only be expected from the
 ‘ very best Servants. She had learnt to read of
 ‘ the Parish-Clerk at *Rungben*. When she left that
 ‘ Place, she spoke only the Language of the Coun-
 ‘ try, which is a *Slavonian* Dialect; but at *M.*
 ‘ *Gluck's* she learnt the *German* Tongue to Perfec-
 ‘ tion, of which she knew only a few Words be-
 ‘ fore, and employed all her vacant Hours in read-
 ‘ ing. A *Livonian* Serjeant in the *Swedish* Army
 ‘ fell passionately in Love with her; and she liked
 ‘ him so well, that she agreed to have him, if he
 ‘ would ask the Consent of *Mr. Gluck*, without
 ‘ which she would do nothing. He followed her
 ‘ Advice, and *Mr. Gluck*, who was not very easy
 ‘ in his Circumstances; (for the Reformation which
 ‘ allows Priests to marry, has very much impove-
 ‘ rished them, especially in *Livonia*, where the Re-
 ‘ venues of the Church are less considerable than
 ‘ in any other Country.) *Mr. Gluck*, on this Ac-
 ‘ count, gave his Consent more readily than other-
 ‘ wise he would have done; this Serjeant was of
 ‘ a pretty good Family, had a small Estate of his
 ‘ own, and was in a fair Way to Preferment, be-
 ‘ ing

ing already known to be a Man of Bravery, and Sobriety. It is reported as a certain Truth through all *Livonia*, that Mr. *Gluck* performed the Marriage-Ceremony himself. The next Day the *Muscovites* taking the Town of *Marienbough*, the commanding Officer, General *Baur*, perceiving *Catharine* among the Prisoners, and observing notwithstanding the Tears that fell from her Eyes, a certain *Je ne scai quoi* in her Face, that struck him very much, he asked her several Questions concerning her Condition, to which she made Answers with more Sense than is usual in Persons of her Rank. He bad her fear nothing, for he would take Care to see that she was well used: Accordingly he that instant ordered some of his People to conduct her to the Place where his Baggage was; there were some Women who washed his Linnen, and did other Works agreeable to that Sex, and finding her afterwards very proper to manage his Household-Affairs, he gave her a Sort of Authority and Inspection over these Women, and the rest of his Domesticks, by whom she was very much beloved from her Manner of using them, when she instructed them in their Duty: And the General had said himself, he never was so well served as when she was with him. It happened that Prince *Menzikeff*, who was his Patron, having seen her one Day, observed something very extraordinary in her Air and Behaviour; and for that Reason asked him, who she was, and in what Condition she served him? The General told him what has been before related, and, at the same Time, took care to do Justice to the Merit of *Catharine*. The Prince said he was very ill served, and had Occasion for such a Person about him: General *Baur* replied, that he was too much obliged to his Highness to have it in his Power to refuse him any Thing he had a Mind to. He immediately called *Catharine*, and told her, that was Prince *Menzikeff*, who had occasion for a Servant like herself; that he was able

' to be a better Friend to her than himself; and
 ' that he had too much Kindness for her to prevent
 ' her receiving such a Piece of Honour and good
 ' Fortune. She answered only with a profound
 ' Curtsey, which shew'd, if not her Consent, that
 ' it was not then in her Power to refuse the Offer
 ' that was made her: In short, Prince *Mensikoff*
 ' took her with him, or she went to him, the same
 ' Day. He kept her in his Service till the Year
 ' 1703 or 1704, when the Czar saw her one Day as
 ' he was at Dinner with him, and spoke to her:
 ' She made a yet stronger Impression on that Mo-
 ' narch, who would likewise have her to be his
 ' Servant.

' It is very uncertain, what became of her young
 ' Husband, as well as the Character and Post he
 ' had in the *Swedish* Army, from the different Ac-
 ' counts that have been given of him. One, for
 ' Example, printed a *Jena*, a small Town and Uni-
 ' versity of *Thuringen* in 1724, tells us, that he was
 ' a Cadet, that, after he was married at *Marien-*
 ' *bourg* in 1702, the *Muscovites* attacking that Town,
 ' he gave such signal Proofs of his Bravery, that
 ' he was made a Lieutenant-Colonel, and some
 ' have thought that if every one had shewn as
 ' much Courage as he, they would never have
 ' taken it. If this be true, which, says *Motraye*, I
 ' heard nothing of in the Country, he had, besides
 ' the Preservation of the Town, a particular In-
 ' terest which his Companions had not, *viz.* the
 ' Liberty of a beloved Wife; and it is well known,
 ' what Love is capable of undertaking: But this
 ' Account says nothing of what became of him af-
 ' ter his Advancement, or whether he made any
 ' Attempt, to recover this dear Spouse. Some will
 ' have it, that he was only a Corporal; others a
 ' Dragoon; and add, that the Marriage was never
 ' consummated, he being obliged the same Day to
 ' rise from Table to go to *Riga* with a Detachment
 ' that was ordered to secure that Place: Others will
 ' have the Marriage to have been consummated,

' and

and sent him eight Days after with other Dragoons, to reconnoitre the Enemy; and say, that the next Day after his Departure the Town was invested, and taken the Day following. *M. de la Motraye* says, he could be assured of nothing from the common Report of the Country, concerning the Fate of this new married Man, it being so variously related: One while he was told, that he was killed in the first Attack of the Town; another, that he was in the Number of those, who not being able to hold out against the Efforts of the Enemy, retired to *Riga*. Those, from whom he heard the last, added, that he was inconsolable for the Loss of his beloved *Catharine*, whom he despaired of ever seeing again; and that he said to some of his Friends, that he would never go to that Place, where, for a few Days, he had been the happiest of Men, as he was now the most unfortunate; but would seek for Death in *Poland*, where his Master would give him Opportunities enough to meet with it: For the King of *Sweden*, despising the *Muscovites*, after the Battle of *Narva*, went into *Poland* to find Enemies, who, in his Opinion, were more worthy his great Courage.

Perhaps the Husband of *Catharine*, continues the same Author, had less Hopes of seeing her again, as he had heard, that the *Muscovites* had already sent many Families Prisoners into *Russia*, and sold several young Girls of the *Swedish* Nation, in their Markets, for Slaves to *Turky*. The *Swedes* redeemed some of them; and *M. de la Motraye* himself bought a Girl of the *Janissaries*, after the Action of *Varnitza*, who was one that the Chancellor *Mullern* had redeemed; she knew *Catharine*, and told him several Particulars relating to her, which were confirmed to him in the Country afterwards.

Although the taking of *Mariembourg* was a Misfortune to the young Husband of *Catharine*, yet it was to her the Epoch from whence she was to

‘ date the greatest Happiness that a Mortal could
 ‘ aspire to. By her Complaisance and engaging
 ‘ Behaviour, she made herself Mistress of the Heart
 ‘ and Affections of the Czar, she accompanied him
 ‘ every where, and shared with him in all the
 ‘ Dangers and Fatigues of the War ; it has been
 ‘ observed, that Enjoyment, and even Marriage,
 ‘ which often prove the Grave of Love, served only
 ‘ to augment his: She had in some Sort the Go-
 ‘ vernment of all his Passions, and even saved the
 ‘ Lives of a great many more Persons than M. Le
 ‘ Fort was able to do. She inspired him with Hu-
 ‘ manity, which, according to the Complaints of
 ‘ his Subjects, Nature seemed to have denied him.

‘ This Monarch, among his other excellent Qua-
 ‘ lities, was very judicious, and would willingly
 ‘ receive good Advice. A *Scotch* Officer, who
 ‘ had a great Share in his Favour and Confidence,
 ‘ told M. de la Motraye, that one Day making his
 ‘ Remarks to him, with his usual Familiarity, upon
 ‘ his bloody Executions, and some Exactions, which
 ‘ to him seem’d oppressive ; and telling him, that
 ‘ he had always observed, that those Princes who
 ‘ used their Subjects with Humanity, by that Means
 ‘ made themselves Masters of their Hearts and
 ‘ Purfes: He answered him, that that was true in
 ‘ Respect to his own Nation, to *Germany*, and per-
 ‘ haps every other *European* Nation, but not to his:
 ‘ For, if he had not treated them with the Severity
 ‘ he did, he should long before that have lost the
 ‘ *Russian* Empire, or never have made it what it was.

‘ One Word from the Mouth of *Catharine*, in fa-
 ‘ vour of a Wretch just going to be sacrificed to
 ‘ his Anger, would disarm him ; but, if he was
 ‘ fully resolved to satisfy that Passion, he would
 ‘ give Orders for the Execution to be done when
 ‘ she was absent, for fear she should plead for the
 ‘ Victim. She acquired the Love and Esteem of
 ‘ every one, Soldiers, Sailors, &c. She would often
 ‘ go herself, before or after an Engagement, fol-
 ‘ lowed by some of her Servants, with Bottles of
 ‘ strong

strong Liquors, and fill out several Glasses to give them with her own Hands.

But to return: On the Twentieth of September 1702, News was brought to *Moscow*, that *Notebourg*, after it had sustained three Assaults, was taken by his Majesty's Arms, for which *Te Deum* was sung three Days after in the principal Church in *Moscow*. In the beginning of *December* following the Czar arrived at the Town of *Peschick*, ninety Wersts from that City; from whence he came to *Salnicoff*, a Country-Seat belonging to Prince *Lofreilis*, his Uncle, thirty Wersts from his Capital, and from thence to *Nikoolsky* the House of the *Knez Mighalo Sakelets Serkaske*, Governor of *Siberia*, but seven Wersts from the City.

While he was here, every thing was got in Readiness for his Majesty's Entry. Most of the foreign Merchants had Orders to provide themselves with a greater Number of Horses than usual, with a Servant drest in the *English* Fashion, to conduct the Artillery that had been taken from the *Swedes*. The Day he was to make his Entry, the foreign Ministers, the *English* Consul, and *Dutch* Resident, and some of the Merchants went to pay their Compliments to him at *Nikoolsky*. Against his Approach, triumphal Arches were erected, of Wood, in the Street of *Meesneits*, the first in the Red Wall opposite to the *Greek* Monastery, near the Printing-House which the Czar had lately ordered to be built, tho' an Attempt of that Kind had formerly been so unsuccessful, as is before-mentioned. The second Arch was in the White Wall, near the Admiralty-Office, about four hundred Paces from the other. The Streets and Fields were filled with People to see the Procession, which was made in the following manner.

First came the Regiment of Guards, consisting of eight hundred Men, and commanded by Colonel *de Ridder*, a *German*. One half of this Body was cloathed in Scarlet, in the *English* Fashion, the other in the *Russian*, because there had not been Time
enough

enough to finish their new Cloaths. The Swedish Prisoners, every one as well Peasants as Soldiers, walked between two, *viz.* three a-breast, and were divided into seven Bands, each of about eighty, or eighty-four Prisoners, making in all five hundred and eighty Men, between three Companies of Soldiers. After these came two fine Led-Horses, and a Company of Grenadiers in Green lined with Red, in the *German* Fashion; only they had Bear-skin Caps instead of Hats; after this came six Halberdiers, five Haut-boys and six Officers. Then came the Royal Regiment of *Preobrazinski*, four hundred of them, new cloathed, after the *German* Manner, in Green lined with Red and White, laced Hats, with the Czar and Prince *Alexander* at the Head of them, preceeded by nine *German* Flutes, and some Led-Horses. This Regiment was followed by a Party of that of *Semenosky*, his Majesty's Guards also, in Blue lined with Red; and after these came the Colours taken from the *Swedes*. First two Standards, followed by a great Flag, which had been display'd upon the Castle of *Notebourg*, carried by four Soldiers; and then Six Ship-Colours, and twenty-five Ensigns, Blue, Green, Yellow and Red, each carried by two Soldiers: Most of these Ensigns had two golden Lyons and a Crown at Top. After these came forty Pieces of Cannon, some drawn by four, some by six Horses of a Colour; four great Mortars, fifteen great Brass Field Pieces, then another Mortar, and then very long and heavy Brass Cannon, some drawn by six and some by eight Horses. After these came a great Chest of Kitchen Utensils, ten Sledges with Fire-Arms, three Drums, another Sledge with Smith's Tools, and a great Pair of Bellows. Then came the Officers that were Prisoners, about forty in Number, walking each of them between two Soldiers; last some Sledges, with the sick and wounded, followed by some of the *Russian* Soldiers, closed the Procession. It began at one in the Afternoon, and having passed through the Gate of
Tower.

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*The RIVER NEVA
with the SITUATION of
PETERSBURGH CRONSLOT
and SLEUTELBOURG.*



1. The Situation of Petersburg. 2. Cronslot. 3. Sleutelbourg. 4. the River Neva. 5. the Lake Ladoga. 6. the Cataract. 7. the Ruins of Nie-schantz. 8. the Monastery of Alexander Nèwski. 9. Strelna Muse. 10. Sands. 11. Peterhoff. 12. Oranjen-baum. 13. the Fortrefs. 14. the Road to Petersburg. 15. the Island of Retusari. 16. Finland. 17. Ingria.

To the Right Hon.^{ble}

This PLATE is most



the Earl of BURLINGTON

humbly Dedicated.

Tawersky, which is to the Northward, they advanced up to the first triumphal Arch, and the Regiment of Guards went through. Here his Majesty halted a quarter of an Hour, to refresh himself, and receive the Congratulations of the Clergy. The triumphal Arch was so covered with Tapestry Figures, Pictures, and Devices, that the Wood Work was entirely hid. At the Top, in a Balcony, were eight Musicians, richly dressed. The Middle of the Arch was crowned with an Eagle and several Trophies of War. The Houses near it were adorned with Carpets, Tapestry and Pictures; the Balconies were full of Streamers, Musicians, and all Sorts of musical Instruments. The Streets were strewed with Greens, in this Place, where was a great Number of the Nobility. The Princess, his Majesty's Sister, the Czarina, Dowager of the Czar *John*, and the Princesses her Daughters, attended by a great Number of *Russian* and foreign Ladies, were a little beyond, at the House of the *Sieur Jankof Wassielief Feundercf*, to see the Procession. The Czar, having saluted the Princesses, advanced on to the second Arch, adorned like the first, and having in this Order marched through the City, he went out at the Gate of *Aleefnietse*, and proceeded towards the *Slabode* of the *Germans*, where being arrived, the *Dutch* Resident made him an Offer of Wine. He went on to *Obrogensko*, but Night coming on, as he was going out of the *Slabode*, he mounted his Horse, and so put an End to the Pomp of the Show.

A very few Months after this Triumph, for the taking of *Notebourg*, his Czarish Majesty took the Town of *Nie-schantz* in *Ingria*, and observing that, about a *German* Mile lower down, the River *Neva*, dividing itself into several Branches, formed a Number of little Islands, this, from the Conveniency of the Situation, first inspired him with the Thoughts of building a City there, which should give him a Footing in the *Baltick* Sea; he went thither himself to sound the River, and view the Islands, but
 spying

spying several *Swedish* Ships cruising in the Gulf of *Finland*, he ordered a Detachment of about a thousand Men, from his Army, to be posted in the Island of *Reñusari*, where *Cronstot* now lies. The *Swedes*, endeavouring to dislodge the *Russians*, fired upon them continually from one of their Ships, which made the *Russians* retire for a while, and hide themselves behind a great Quantity of large Stones lying on the Shore; the *Swedes* upon this, believing they were gone to the other Shore of the Island, and made off in their Vessels, landed with a Design to maintain so advantageous a Post; but the *Russians* coming from the Places where they had hid themselves, received them so warmly, that they were glad to retire to their Ships, having lost some of their Men, and put to Sea again. The Czar, after this Skirmish, kept Possession of the Island, made a Harbour there, and a Fort with a Borough, now called *Cronstot*. The Czar, more and more pleased with the Situation of the neighbouring Country, pursued his Resolution of building the City of *Petersburgh*, and in the Month of *May* 1703, where, at that Time, were only four or five Fishermens Huts, he raised the first House, which was only a low Hall, made with Planks and Joists, to secure himself from the Weather, and rest in; but in Memory of this great Undertaking, it has been preserved ever since, being inclosed with a wooden Gallery, raised on a Wall three or four Feet high. The Place that his Majesty pitched upon is inaccessible from the Depth of the River *Neva*, in that Part, and from the Country's being a Morass all round it. His Resolution being thus taken, and the Work began, he issued forth Orders, that a great Number of Men from all Corners of his vast Empire should repair thither to put his Design in Execution; many thousand Workmen, *Russians*, *Tartars*, *Cossacks*, *Calmuks*, and Peasants of all Sorts, were soon brought thither, some from the Distance of near three hundred *German* Miles, and these made a Beginning of the Works of the new Forts.

treffs. He was obliged, says Monsieur de *Voltaire*, to break through Forests, to open Ways, to dry up Moors, to raise Banks, before he could lay the Foundation of this new Town. The whole was a Force put upon Nature: But as that ingenious *Frenchman* observes, the Czar aspired higher than only to the Destruction of Towns, like ordinary Heroes: There were no Difficulties that he would not surmount, no Toils but he would undergo to raise the Grandeur of his Nation. When this great Work was first undertaken, the Men employed in it had neither sufficient Provisions for subsisting them, nor even necessary Tools, as Pick-axes, Spades, Shovels, Wheel-Barrows, Planks and the like; no Houses or Huts to dwell in, and yet the Work went on with such Expedition that in five Months Time the Fortress was raised, though the Earth thereabouts was so scarce that the greatest Part of the Workmen Labourers carried it in the Skirts of their Cloaths, and in Bags made of old Rags and Mats, the Use of Wheel-Barrows being then unknown to them. It is computed that no less than a hundred Thousand Men perished in this Place, where no Provisions could be had even for ready Money; the Country had been made desolate by War, and the usual Supplies by the Lake of *Ladoga* were often retarded by contrary Winds. The Plan of the Works was drawn by the Czar's own Hand, who was an excellent Draught's-Man. While the Fortress was going on the City began by Degrees to be built. His Majesty obliged not only the Nobility, but Merchants and Tradesmen of all Sorts, to go and live there, and to trade in such Commodities as they were ordered. This Place, where Provisions were so scarce, and most Conveniencies wanting, was at first not at all agreeable to the Nobility and Persons of Distinction, who in *Moscow* had not only very large Buildings within the City; but also Country-Seats and Villages about it, where they had Fish-Ponds and Gardens, with Plenty of Fruits, that were not to be expected at *Petersburgh*,
which

which lies almost five Degrees farther North. However, as the Place was convenient, and agreeable both to the Designs and Humour of the Czar, he paid little Regard to the Complaints of those who considered their own Ease and Luxury more than the Advantage of their Country. The Boyars brought hither great Retinues with them, and the Merchants and Shop-keepers found their Account in this new City, where every Thing bore an excessive Price. Several *Swedes*, *Finlanders*, and *Lithuanians*, not being able to subsist in their own Towns, depopulated by the Wars, continued here. Artificers, Mechanicks, and Seamen were invited hither to encourage Shipping and the Affairs of the Navy; and the Workmen, having worked the Time out that was appointed by his Majesty, they were hired to build for the Boyars, and some of them even built Houses for themselves, and settled at *Petersburgh*: They were greatly encouraged to this, by every Man's being allowed to pitch upon the Spot that pleased him best. In one Year's Time, about thirty Thousand Houses were erected, and now there are above double that Number; it is true, there are some but mean, which may be taken to Pieces in two or three Hours Time, and set up in other Places; but these are chiefly in the *Slabodas*, or *Suburbs*, as in the *Tartarian* and *German Slabodas*, and the *Finlandish Scheren*. But I shall speak farther of the Increase and Improvements in this City hereafter, and return at present to the King of *Sweden* in *Poland*, who, when he was told of the Building the Czar was about, answered, 'That he might amuse himself, if he pleased, with such an Employment, he should soon take them from him, and, if they were worth it, he would keep them, if not, he would set Fire to them;' so little did he consider the growing Power of the Prince, who was to oppose him; which, without doubt, he might have much retarded, had he known how to follow his Victory at *Narva*.

Augustus,

1704. *Augustus*, daily driven every where before the *Swedcs*, sent an Embassy to the Czar, to conclude a Treaty of Alliance, offensive and defensive, which was disliked by the Senate: But he had done so many other Things against the Inclinations of the *Poles*, that their Affections were quite lost, and most of them favoured the Assembly held by the Cardinal Primate at *Warsaw*; who, after many Pretences of having no Design but to reconcile *Augustus*, and the Republick, and seeking only to promote Peace and Concord, at last threw off the Mask, and on the fourteenth of *February* 1704, declared in the Name of the whole Assembly, *Augustus*, Elector of *Saxony*, incapable of wearing the Crown of *Poland*: Upon which it was agreed that the Throne was vacant, and that a new Election should be made: But before this Resolution was taken, the following Letter from the Czar was read in the Assembly.

PETER ALEXOWITZ,

By the Grace of God, most Serene, and most Powerful Great Lord, Czar and Great Duke of the whole Great, Lesser, and White Russia, Sovereign of Muscovy, &c.

To the most Illustrious, most Eminent, and most Reverend Lord Michael Stephen Radziowski, Archbishop of Gnesna, Cardinal and Primate of Poland; and to the most Illustrious, Generous, and Magnificent Lords, the Senators of the Kingdom and other Orders of the most Serene Republick of Poland, and Great Dutchy of Lithuania, Salutation and Prosperity.

‘ **M**OST Illustrious, most Eminent, and most
 ‘ Reverend Lord Archbishop and Cardinal,
 ‘ and Reverend Primate of the Kingdom of *Poland*,
 ‘ and Great Dutchy of *Lithuania*; most Illustrious,
 ‘ Generous,

‘ Generous, and Magnificent Lords, the Senators,
‘ and other Orders of the most Serene Republick of
‘ Poland, and Great Dutchy of *Lithuania*, our Friends
‘ and most dear Neighbours. Notwithstanding we
‘ have been informed a long Time since, and that
‘ the like Reports were spread through most Parts
‘ of *Europe*, that some of your Republick, led by the
‘ Motives of a certain inveterate Hatred, and full of
‘ wicked Intentions, make use of all possible Means
‘ to drive from his Throne his sacred *Polish* Majesty;
‘ our Brother and most dear Neighbour, who is in a
‘ most strict Alliance with us, that they may after-
‘ wards more effectually carry on the ill Designs
‘ they have contrived, and more safely obtain their
‘ Aim; yet we had so good an Opinion of your Equi-
‘ ty and Justice, that not only we were unwilling
‘ to give Credit to those Reports, which came from
‘ all Parts, but also forbore to consider the same
‘ with the serious Attention that they deserved.
‘ We thought that if that Fury and abominable
‘ Passion had crept amongst the Orders of your
‘ Republick, the Number of such, who think on
‘ what they owe to God and their Country, and
‘ honour Virtue, would much exceed the Number
‘ of those, who, not duly weighing the fatal Con-
‘ sequences of those Designs, have suffered them-
‘ selves to be blinded, by a depraved Passion, and
‘ their private Interests. We thought also, that
‘ those great Agitations, being supported by no
‘ Christian Powers, would be easily appeased amongst
‘ yourselves. But as we have afterwards observed,
‘ and are convinced by unquestionable Proofs, that
‘ That Evil was more and more increasing, and
‘ taking deeper Roots, we thought it was our Duty
‘ more than any Body else, to intervene and express
‘ publicly, how much we were concerned upon
‘ hearing of so pernicious a Design, which does
‘ no Ways become a Christian Nation. In fine,
‘ after having maturely considered that Point, we
‘ have resolved to do, by our Interposition, what
‘ we believe every honest Man is bound to do;
‘ especially

' especially considering the great Office we exercise
 ' upon Earth, and the general Obligation laid upon
 ' all Christian Princes, by God and human Society,
 ' to repress Violence, and refrain Injustice, and such
 ' wicked Advices as tend to the Subversion of
 ' Laws, and other Ties of human Society, and dis-
 ' turb the publick Peace of Christendom; so that
 ' Justice may be every where administer'd, and In-
 ' nocence protected; that the common Cause of
 ' Princes, and the Rights of Kings may be chiefly
 ' preserved entire; that instead of an honourable
 ' Liberty allowed by the divine and human Laws,
 ' which deservedly makes the Joy of free Nations,
 ' People may not be carried away to the Excess
 ' of slighting Princes, and trampling under Foot
 ' crowned Heads, whose Majesty is derived imme-
 ' diately from God; that the same may not be ex-
 ' posed to the Fury of such who love Novelties:
 ' Lastly, that the fundamental Laws, established by
 ' Nature itself, for the Preservation of human So-
 ' ciety, be not destroyed, and that Men, created
 ' in the Image of God, may not degenerate into
 ' Brutes, and live without any Law. Besides all
 ' these Reasons, we are particularly obliged to con-
 ' cern ourselves in this Affair, that is by Virtue of
 ' the Peace concluded in the Year 1686, with the
 ' Kingdom of *Poland*, wherein it is said, in express
 ' Terms, that a brotherly Love, and an inviolable
 ' Peace be maintained between us, and the most
 ' serene King of *Poland*. That they mind the Good
 ' and Advantage of each other, that as Brothers
 ' they assist each other, and that their Majesties are
 ' as Brothers to shew each other all the Duties
 ' of Humanity, Friendship, and brotherly Affection,
 ' and every Thing else that may tend to their mu-
 ' tual and respective Advantage, and take all possi-
 ' ble Care to avoid all Things which may breed
 ' Enmity, or occasion Violence, and more especially
 ' such as might create War, and occasion the Effu-
 ' sion of human Blood, and the Ravage of their
 ' respective Countries, as it becomes Christian Prin-
 ' ces,

ces, and shall take care that no new Wars nor Divisions may break out upon any Account whatsoever. All these Things having been in a solemn Manner sworn to upon the Book of the Gospel, the Successors in both Kingdoms are indisputably bound thereto. Grounded upon these Foundations, we have contracted a personal Friendship with the most serene King of *Poland* now reigning, and concluded with him an Alliance more strict and particular than the former, whereby, above all other Things, we have promised each other, that as Providence would preserve us in our Kingdom, (which God may render happy) we should always and religiously maintain a sincere Friendship, and perform to each other all the Duties of a good Neighbourhood; that we should never infringe the same, but rather should mutually defend one another against all our Enemies whatsoever. Moreover, we are obliged to concern ourselves in this Affair, because of the great Care we are to take, to provide for the Peace and Security of our Territories, situated on the Frontiers of *Poland*; for while we see a Fire kindled in our Neighbourhood, and threatening to put all in Flames, we ought to think ourselves concerned in that imminent Danger, and fear that those Flames may spread themselves into our Dominions, and deprive them of the Conveniencies a peaceful Neighbourhood does usually procure. In short, we know what Sort of Monsters some of you nourish in your Bosom against us, making no Scruple to entertain such pernicious Designs, and being not ashamed to say publicly, that after having put in Execution what they have contrived against the sacred Person of his Majesty, they will join our Enemy, which is, however; directly contrary to the perpetual Peace aforesaid, which was obtained with the Effusion of so much human Blood; for among the several Conditions to settle the Stability of the Peace between the two Nations,

with

‘ with the most serene King and Republick of *Poland*, it is expressly stipulated, that his Majesty, and his Successors, who shall be elected after him, the Great Dukes of *Lithuania*, and the whole Republick of the Crown of *Poland* and Great Dutchy of *Lithuania*, the ecclesiastical and secular Orders of each Nation, promise to favour no Ways our declared or secret Enemies, neither by themselves nor by others, to have no Correspondence with them, and never to suffer them to commit the least Hostility. To the End then that this Fire, which lies concealed under these treacherous Ashes, may be extinguished in a due Time, before it breaks out into a Flame; and that That abominable Design, abhorred by God and Men, perfidiously to break an Oath, and violate what has been solemnly sworn to, may be stifled in its Beginning, we have concerned ourselves in this Affair, being satisfied that we have sufficiently shewn to all the World, that it is our Duty and Right to interpose ourselves therein. Therefore we have thought fit in the first Place to apply ourselves to your most serene Republick, and induce you by this friendly Exhortation to weigh every Thing in this Extremity, and to admonish without Interruption such who entertain those pernicious Designs, detested by all good Men, to reflect upon themselves, and consider what they undertake, and that they not only expose their Honour and Reputation, but likewise the Security of their Country to an evident Danger.

‘ The Reason upon which they fancy they may ground the dethroning of a King elected according to Law, and acknowledged by his greatest Enemies, appear so unjust and frivolous to uninterested Persons, that the Authors of those Counsels cannot avoid the Name and Character of Enemies and perfidious Men, which have been bestowed upon them by their own Brothers; nor hinder all Christian Princes, and especially such who

' who are obliged by Treaties, or Reasons of State
 ' to defend and protect the sacred Majesty of Kings,
 ' from opposing with all their Might, the Election
 ' of another Person, to the Prejudice of the publick
 ' good of Christendom, and putting a Stop to those
 ' impious Designs. They cannot be ignorant that
 ' his sacred Majesty and Elector of *Saxony* has still
 ' Forces enough to repell those Hostilities, and
 ' maintain the good Cause and Right he has once
 ' acquired, and rather the more, because the best part
 ' of the most serene Republick, in Consideration of
 ' their Duty and their Oath, have declared their
 ' Readiness to spill their Blood for the King, and
 ' sacrifice their Lives and Reputation for his De-
 ' fence, to their immortal Glory with their Poste-
 ' rity. And what can be the End of all this, but
 ' to make their Country a Theatre of War, and
 ' open a large Field for the Plunder and Devasta-
 ' tion of their neighbouring Nations. As to the Au-
 ' thors of that Design, and such who favour them,
 ' they will receive the Punishment they have so
 ' justly deserved. They will bring a Blot upon
 ' themselves and their Posterity, which shall never
 ' be washed off, and sinking at last under the
 ' Weight of Divine Justice, which never leaves
 ' those Attempts unpunished, they will deplore
 ' their own Misfortunes but too late.

' As to those amongst you who have Cause to
 ' complain, for we know very well, that the whole
 ' most serene Republick is not hurried away by
 ' that Impiety, but is for the major Part inclined to
 ' the Kings, we may say, that it is certain that God
 ' himself and the best and most prudent Princes
 ' cannot equally please all the World, and that the
 ' Chagrin and Dissatisfaction of some proceed from
 ' particular Affections, which usually sway their
 ' Words and their Writings, and from the Passion
 ' and private Interest of Parties; but although they
 ' had just Cause of Complaint, which does not
 ' hitherto appear, they ought for that to consider,

that

‘ that these political Distempers do not occasion so much Damage to the Republick, as commonly do the Means some are endeavouring to make use of as a Remedy in the present Case; and to neglect the friendly and amicable Ways prescribed by the fundamental Laws of *Poland*, even to the offended Party, and have immediately Recourse to Violence and Extremities, is a Practice contrary to the divine and human Laws.

‘ If the Authors of these Novelties should, by the Permission of God, for some secret Reasons, of which there are some Instances, obtain their Aim, what would they gain thereby, except to suffer somewhat sooner or later the Punishment due to their Wickedness, and their Posterity shall never wash off the Infamy they have brought upon themselves and their Nation: The Assistance of a foreign Prince encourages them in this Design, but the Event will enable them to make a true Judgment of their Actions, and Time will shew their Vanity in building such great Things on a sandy Foundation, and that they have relied on a broken Reed. They have taken for the Defender of the Cause they have espoused, a Prince, who for Recompening himself for the Trouble he must be at, and reimbursing himself his Expences and Charges, will seize upon them after having ruined their Country. We think it needless to enlarge any farther upon a Subject of so dangerous Consequence, and flatter ourselves, that such whodesire the Preservation of their Republick, amongst whom there is a great Number of Senators and good Patriots, will exert their utmost Prudence, to make their Brethren sensible of the Mistake, and bring back into the right Way such who have been seduced. As for the rest, we declare to the most serene Republick, that we are resolved to interpose our good Offices, and in order, that such who remembering what they owe to God, their King and Country, have promised

' mised to lay down their Lives for his Majesty, and
 ' likewise such who have the Impudence to oppose
 ' their Prince, and stir Heaven and Earth to obtain
 ' their Aim, may equally know our Intentions to-
 ' wards them we do offer, with a sincere Heart,
 ' our good Offices, to pacify the Divisions and Quar-
 ' rels, which have been excited between his sacred
 ' *Polish* Majesty and some Members of the most
 ' serene Republick, out of our Affection for our
 ' Brother, Friend and good Neighbour, and are
 ' fully perswaded, that, through God's Blessing,
 ' and the Assistance of our Friends and Confede-
 ' rates concerned therein, we shall restore Union,
 ' Peace, and Prosperity, to the Satisfaction of both
 ' Parties, and the common Advantage of the King-
 ' dom of *Poland*, and Great Dutchy of *Lithuania*,
 ' doubting not in the least, but that this Offer of our
 ' good Offices, proceeding from the Sincerity of our
 ' Heart, will appear free from all Suspicions to the
 ' respective Parties: For as his sacred Majesty is
 ' fully assured of our constant Friendship, and
 ' brotherly Affections, so the most serene Repub-
 ' lick may firmly rely upon our plain and sincere
 ' Intentions, whereby we are induced to protect
 ' her Liberty, in considering of the perpetual Peace,
 ' in here alledged: Therefore we friendly invite
 ' by this Letter, upon a speedy and categorical
 ' Answer, that we may know, whether our Offers
 ' are accepted with the same Dispositions for the
 ' Peace and Tranquility of *Poland* and *Lithuania*,
 ' as we do protest before God, we have at this
 ' Time.

' However we shall continue the necessary Pre-
 ' parations, that in case the Disaffected Party per-
 ' sists in their wicked Designs, we may be able to
 ' exert the Power God has given us, to support and
 ' maintain his sacred Majesty on a Throne he is
 ' lawfully possessed of. As to those who shall side
 ' with the King, or shall, in a due Time, return to
 ' their Duty, we shall grant them our special Fa-

' your,

' your, and shew them as much Affection as if
 ' they had done something for ourselves, and pro-
 ' moted our own Advantage, promising to assist
 ' them with all our Power for pacifying these
 ' Troubles; but for such who oppose the most
 ' serene King of *Poland*, their Sovereign, and will
 ' not desist from their pernicious Design, we
 ' declare them our Enemies with all their Adhe-
 ' rents, and shall punish them as such every where,
 ' and shall not forbear our Hostilities against them,
 ' till those Disturbers of the publick Peace, and
 ' Enemies of their Countrymen, in the Acts and
 ' publick Decrees made during this intestine War,
 ' have been severely punished, made an Example to
 ' others, and are plucked out like a Weed, of the
 ' Kingdom of *Poland*, and Great Dutchy of *Lithua-*
 ' *nia*, whereof the Peace and Tranquility is as dear
 ' to us as that of our own Dominions; and in
 ' fine till our Neighbourhood is cleared of those
 ' wicked Men. And that this Letter may be of greater
 ' Force, and that not only the most serene Repub-
 ' lick, but also all the World may know, that this
 ' is our Design and Resolution, we shall communi-
 ' cate this Declaration to all the Princes who fa-
 ' vour our Cause, that the Justice of what we are
 ' going to undertake may appear every where.
 ' But for our Neighbours who have the same good
 ' Reasons as we to look upon this Affair as con-
 ' cerning them in a particular Manner, we shall
 ' invite them to join with us, and enter into our
 ' Alliance; and being resolved to neglect nothing
 ' for the Defence of the sacred Person of his Ma-
 ' jesty, we shall take care of his Cause, Scepter, and
 ' Crown, as of our own. We wish with all our
 ' Hearts, the Grace and Blessing of the Almighty
 ' to such who sincerely desire the Advantage and
 ' Preservation of the most serene Republick, and
 ' that they may succeed in the Design they shall
 ' go upon for the Glory of God, the Preservation of
 ' their King, and the Honour, and Advantage of
 ' their Country, and we wish them a good Health.
 ' Done at *Moscow*.

'Of your Eminence, your Excellencies, and great
'Generosities. The good and affectionate Friend.

P E T E R.

This Letter had no great Effect upon the confederated Nobility, though some of them represented that it deserved to be maturely considered, because of the fatal Consequences the March of a *Muscovite* Army into *Poland* might be attended with; but prudent Consideration being inconsistent with their Designs, they resolved to go on, and proceed to a new Election, which would have fallen upon Prince *James Sobiesky*, recommended by the King of *Sweden*, if an extraordinary Incident had not prevented it: But a Letter sent from Prince *Alexander Sobiesky* informed them, that his Brothers *James* and *Constantine*, being hunting not far from *Breslaw* in *Silesia*, a Party of about thirty Horse, sent privately by *Augustus*, had, by his Orders, surprized and forcibly carried them off to *Leipsick*, where they were put under Confinement.

The next Candidates that were named, were Prince *Alexander Sobiesky*, and the Prince of *Conti*, the first was favoured by the King of *Sweden*; the Primate, and scarce any other, was for the Prince of *Conti*. *Alexander*, pressed by *Charles XII.* to accept the Crown which his Father had worn before him, absolutely refused to ascend a Throne while his elder Brother lived; this noble and generous Moderation of the young Prince *Alexander*, and the few Friends that appeared on the Side of the Prince of *Conti*, made way for a new Candidate, who had almost every Voice in the Republick for him, besides the strong Interest of the King of *Sweden*. This was *Stanislaus Leszcinski* the Palatine of *Poznan*, a young Lord, endowed with great Virtues and Merit; who was soon declared King of *Poland*, and Grand Duke of *Lithuania*.

When *Augustus* heard of the Election of *Stanislaus*, he assembled a great Council at *Sandomir*, where he was declared a Rebel and Traitor to his Country; but

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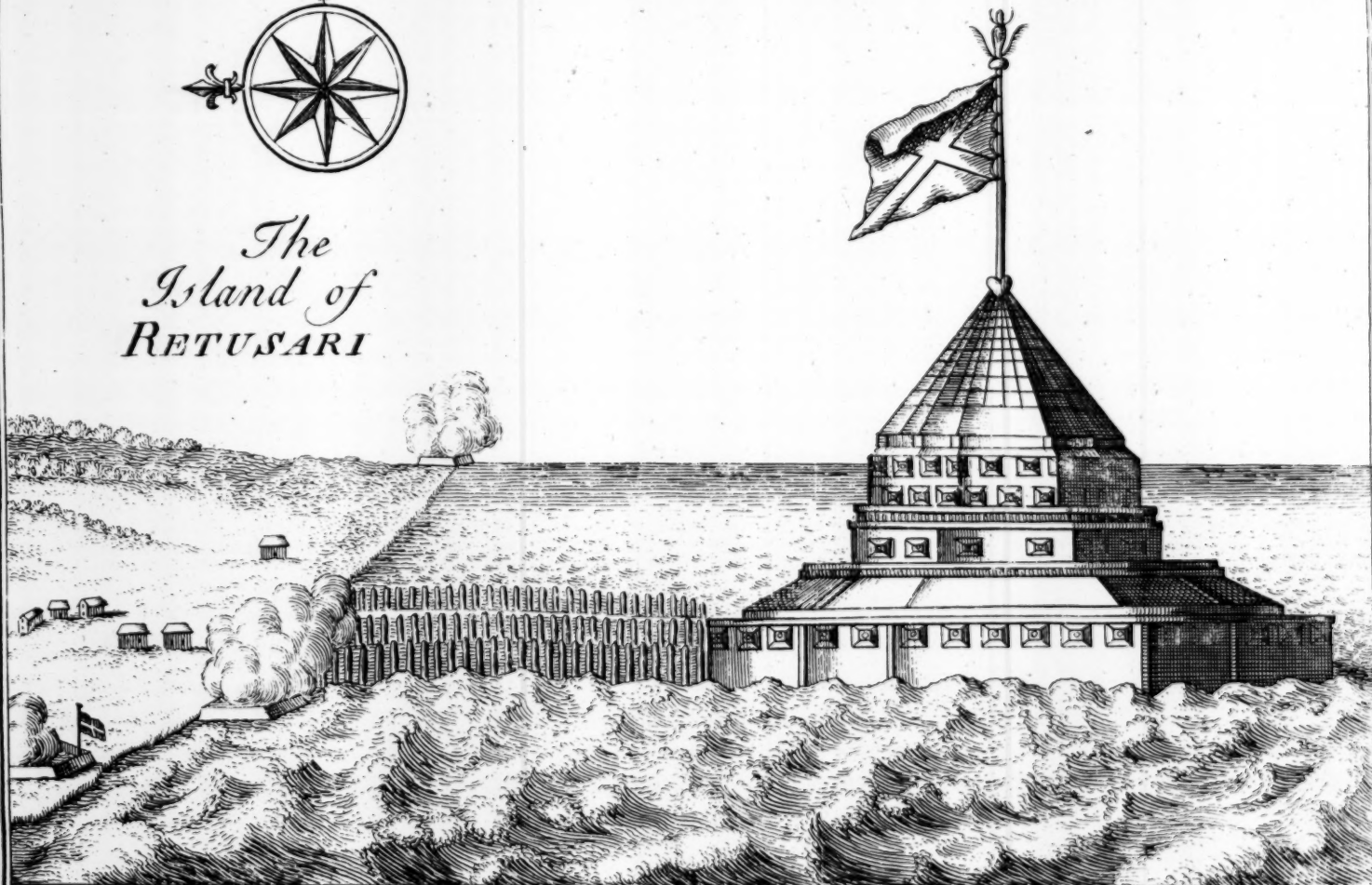
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*The
Island of
RETUSARI*



The CASTLE of CRONSLLOT built by the Emperor PETER.

T. Spenslowe Sculp.

*To his Grace the
This PLATE is most*



*Duke of NEWCASTLE
humbly Dedicated.*

but while he was contending with his Rival by vain Declarations, the King of *Sweden*, every where routed his *Saxon* Troops. The Czar in the mean Time, grew every Day more formidable; he had trained up his Soldiers in military Discipline, had good Officers, good Engineers, and a serviceable Artillery: He had now made himself Master of *Dorpt*, and, on the twenty first of *August* 1704, took *Narva* by Assault, after a regular Siege, having prevented its being relieved by Sea or Land. When his Soldiers were possessed of this Town, and committed numberless Outrages, his Czarish Majesty himself ran from Place to Place to stop their Disorders, and even kill'd some of the *Muscovites* with his own Hand, that would not listen to his Commands. The Czar's Conquests here confirmed to him his Footing in the *Baltick* Sea.

For when he had reduced this Town, and the Fortress of *Iwanogorod* he used all his Endeavours to make the Place impregnable, and to complete the Fortress, carried on in the Winter, at *Petersburgh*. The Czar, who directed the Works himself, having sounded the Waters about the neighbouring Islands, found that That of *Retusari* might be made a safe Harbour for his Fleet and a great Defence to his new City of *Petersburgh*, the only Passage to which was on the South Side of this Island, where runs a strong Current, that is not easy to come up, unless the Wind is very fair; but on the North the Water is too shallow for any Vessel to pass. His Majesty, sensible of the Advantage of this Situation, made it a Port for his Fleet, and built a Town there, which he fortified with a strong Castle called *Cronslot*. This last stands on a sand Bank in the midst of the Sea, about a Cannon-shot from the Island, and a Mile from the Coast of *Ingria*; the Foundation of it was laid in Winter, upon the Ice, with Boxes made of strong Timber and filled with Stone, on which the rest was afterwards built with Timber filled up with Earth. This Castle of *Cronslot* is round, with three

Galleries about it above each other, and well furnished with Cannon.

There are two Batteries on the Island over against it, of ten or twelve Guns each, and in Case of Necessity the Piers of the Harbour may be mounted with forty or fifty more; thus is this Entrance to *Petersburgh* sufficiently guarded against any Insult of an Enemy.

It gave no small Uneasiness to the *Swedes*, to see the Works of *Petersburgh* and *Cronslot* go on in this Manner, for which Reason Major General *Meydel*, who commanded in *Carelia*, took upon him to interrupt them; to which End he sent a Party thither under the Conduct of one *Arnfeldt*, whose Guide carrying him beyond the Fort upon the Ice, he was discovered by the *Russian* Soldiers, who kept on their Guard, but could not hinder *Arnfeldt* from ravaging over the whole Isle of *Retusari*: However, the greatest Loss of the *Muscovites* was two Vessels of twenty or thirty Guns, that lay on the Ice, and to which they set Fire; for they could undertake nothing against the Fortress, and the Houses that they destroyed on the Island, being only of Wood, were soon raised again.

The greatest Danger his Czarish Majesty had to apprehend was from the naval Armament that was preparing at *Carlescron*, and which seemed to threaten his new City with inevitable Ruin. This Squadron was to consist of twelve Ships of the Line of Battle, and twenty-eight Frigates, twelve of which carried from forty to sixty Guns apiece. In Truth, this Armament gave more Uneasiness to *Denmark* than to the Czar, who depended upon the Impossibility of the *Swedes* passing by *Cronslot*, where he resolved to maintain his naval Force, which was not yet indeed in a Condition to cope with that of *Sweden*; but it prevented her Designs.

Admiral *Ankersteirn*, who commanded the *Swedish* Fleet, transported six thousand Recruits to *Revel*, and having joined the Squadron of Vice-Admiral *Spar*, they went in search of the *Russian* Flotilla,

Flotilla, commanded by Vice-Admiral *Vander-Kruys*, who gave the following Account of what happened to General *Bruce*.

On the fourth of this Month [*July*] our Scouts discovered the Enemy's Fleet, consisting of twenty-two Men of War, without reckoning other Vessels, that took the Road to *Gronslot*. On the sixth in the Afternoon they gave the Signal, and presently Admiral *Ankerjeern*, and Vice Admiral *Spar* drew up their Squadron in Battalia against my self and the Rear Admiral. The Vice Admiral, by the Help of the continual Fire from the Admiral's Vessels, passed towards the Point of the Island of *Retusari*, where Colonel *Tolbuck* was posted; and thus the Enemy passed between our Line and the Fire of the Colonel, attacking us incessantly with Bullets and Bombs, whilst a great Number of Grenadiers in flat Boats attempted to land on the Island by Favour of their Ship Guns: But they were received with so much Order and Bravery, that after they had lost almost all their Grenadiers, and many of their Soldiers, they were obliged to retreat, leaving us thirty-seven Prisoners, among whom were two Captains and two other Officers, besides five of their flat Boats. Thus by the Help of God, we gloriously repulsed them, although they were much stronger than us, our Vessels carrying but from fourteen to sixteen Guns each, whereas theirs were for the most Part Ships of the Line; the Admiral carried sixty-four Guns, and the Vice-Admiral, and Rear-Admiral fifty-four each. In this Action we had but one Man killed, and three wounded.

The Czar having put every Thing in Order himself, and reviewed most of his Troops, now ~~proposed~~ to open the Campaign in the Year 1705. The Velt-Mareschal *Czeremetoff* marched before with eighteen or twenty thousand Men, and his Majesty followed at the Head of his Army, entering *Lithuania*, by the Palatinate of *Poloczka*. Nothing stopt the March of the Velt-Mareschal till he came into the Heart of *Courland*, where he found

General *Leuvenhaupt* at the Head of seven or eight thousand Men, which did not hinder General *Baur*, with about twenty thousand *Russian* Horse, from penetrating as far as *Alittaw*, in which Place was Colonel *Knoring* with his Regiment. The *Russian* General surprized the Town; all that were in it were made Prisoners, and he took a great Booty. The greatest Part of *Knoring's* Regiment were put to the Sword or taken Prisoners; and the Colonel himself escaped by a private Gate, after having vallantly defended himself, and more than once run the Risque of his Life. The *Russians*, having given this Blow, retired to their Camp at *Nepten*.

The Design of the Velt-Mareschal was not so much to conquer *Curland*, which could not be kept, as to harrass the Enemy, and drive away, if possible, the Body of Troops commanded by *Leuvenhaupt*, that he might sit down quietly before *Riga*. *Leuvenhaupt*, who penetrated into his Design, as soon as he heard of his March, gave Notice of it to General *Frelig*, the Governor of *Riga*, and he, convinced of the Necessity of it, sent him a thousand Men: On the other Side, he sent for the Regiments of *Horn* and *Schreitenfeld* to join him, and put himself in a Posture to receive the *Russians*. He was busy in giving his Orders, when a Groom, escaped from *Alittaw*, run to him with the News of the *Muscovite* Troops having seized on that Place. He made no Delay, but went a full Gallop, with his Cavalry towards that Capital, where he found nothing but the melancholy Foot-steps of the Enemies Passage, who were retired to their Camp at *Nepten*. The *Swedish* General, after having reposed a while, was rejoined by his Infantry, and resolved to seek a Post, which would not be easy for the *Russian* General to force. He chose for this Purpose a very narrow Spot, where his small Number of Men might make Head without being obliged to extend themselves, and where he could not be attacked on all Sides. He made all necessary Dispositions,

tions, perswaded that the *Russians* would come in quest of him, and he was not mistaken.

The Velt-Mareschal *Czeremetoff* had fourteen thousand Horse and Dragoons, four thousand Foot and two thousand *Cossacks*, with which he went to attack the *Swedes*. He found them drawn up in two Lines, the first was very close, the second had some Intervals; their Right Wing was covered by a Morass, the Left by a River that could not be passed in Front. The Cannon was in two Lines between the Wings and the Centre; and the Baggage in the Rear: As soon as Count *Leuvenhaupt* had Notice, by his advanced Guard, that the *Russians* came towards him, he ordered the Colonels *Stakelberg*, *Loscher* and *Hertsfelt*, with four Squadrons, to advance about a thousand Paces, to observe the Motions of the *Russians*, and to retire as soon as they saw the Army approach: But the Wood that was on the left of the *Swedes*, on the other Side of the River, favouring the Motion of the *Muscovite* Troops, this Detachment was no sooner perceived by them, but it was surrounded by the *Russians*, who had passed the River. Although this Cavalry was at first attacked with much Fury, yet they supported the Shock, and at Length retreated to the main Body of their Army. As soon as General *Leuvenhaupt* saw the *Russians* coming upon him with a Front very much extended; and that for want of Ground, they must be forced to make a new Order of Battle, resolved not to give them Time, and his Commands were so readily executed, that both Armies soon came to an Engagement.

The *Russians* first fell on the left Wing of the *Swedes*; and the Velt-Mareschal, dismounting the Foot, which were brought behind the Horsemen, they attacked the *Swedish* Cavalry with Fire and Sword. But they were received with so much Vigour that there was a great Slaughter on both Sides. At length some *Russian* Squadrons having crossed the River to attack the Enemy in Flank, the *Swedish* Cavalry was pushed so warmly that they fell back

upon a Company of the General's Grenadiers, posted between the two Lines, and put the whole Order of Battle into Confusion. The left Wing began to lose Ground, and Victory seemed to declare for the *Russians*, when the Infantry of the second Line took the Place of this Wing, and gave it Time to rally: And then the Foot that were brought behind the *Russian* Horse, found themselves encompassed by the two Lines, and were cut to Pieces, the *Swedens* facing about on all Sides.

In this Action the *Russians* lost five or six thousand Men, the Velt-Mareschal was wounded, but the Victory was dearly purchased by the *Swedens*, who lost General *Linätschioldt*, Major-General *Wrangel*, Colonel *Horn*, two Lieutenant-Colonels, many Captains both of Horse and Foot, a great Number of Subalterns, and near two thousand Men. And the *Swedish* General, in giving an Account of the Battle to the King his Master, said, the *Russians* had all along behaved like brave Soldiers.

The Czar was at this Time at *Vilna*, with his Army, which he reviewed in the Presence of a crowd of the Grandees of *Poland*, who could not sufficiently admire in how short a Time that Monarch had disciplin'd his Troops. The first Design of the Czar was to march his Army along the *Duna*, and form the Siege of *Riga*; but this Check that he received, and an Account that *Leuvenhaupt*, fearing to be overpower'd by Numbers, had put Garrisons into *Mittaw* and *Bautske*, which he had placed in such a Manner as to be always sure of a Retreat to *Riga*, made his Czarish Majesty change his Resolution, and the rather because the King of *Sweden* and King *Stanislaus* had convoked a General Diet at *Warsaw*, to put the last Hand to their grand Design of crowning the latter, which made it necessary for the common Cause to endeavour to trouble that Assembly, which was held by the two Kings with their Swords, as it were at the Throats of the Members, having their Armies round about keeping the City and Diet in a Manner blocked up.

The

The Citizens of *Dantzick*, who had put themselves under the Protection of the King of *Prussia*, maintained a Conduct so equivocal as to give Satisfaction to neither Party : On one Side they gave an Aylum to the *Primate*, and on the other gave Protection to those of the Party of King *Augustus*, who came for Refuge into their Territories. These two Parties were both equally desirous to have them absolutely in their Interest. This made Count *Pipper* undertake to write a very pressing Letter to the Magistracy, the Menaces in which determined them to deliver up to the *Swedes*, all that belonged to the *Saxons*. The Czar, who was attentive to all that passed, wrote also to the Magistracy of this City, not only to make his Complaints of their Behaviour in favour of the Enemies of *Augustus*, but to inform them of the Motives that brought him into *Poland*, and to engage them by large Promises to return to their Duty ; and on the other Hand to let them know, that if they persisted in favouring his Enemies, and those of their Country, the Citizens and the City itself must expect on all Occasions to be treated as Enemies : But as it was not sufficient to inform this City alone, why he came with a hundred thousand foreign Troops into the Heart of *Poland*, his Majesty published the following Manifesto.

‘ **W**E, by the Grace of God, the most illustrious, and most potent Czar, and Great Duke, *Peter Alexowitz*, absolute Sovereign of the Greater, Less, and White *Russia*, and hereditary Successor and Lord of several Principalities and Countries, in the East, West, and Northern Parts of the World, signify hereby to the illustrious and magnificent Senators, Dignitaries, both Spiritual and Temporal, and the Rest of the great Officers, and Nobility, of the most serene Republick of *Poland*, and the Great Dutchy of *Lithuania*, that we, pursuant to the perpetual Peace concluded formerly between both Nations, and the subsequent

I 5

‘ Alliances

' Alliances made with his Majesty *Augustus II.* the
 ' lawful King, and the whole Republick of *Poland*,
 ' for a mutual Prosecution of the War against our
 ' common Enemy, have employed our utmost En-
 ' deavours to oblige that Enemy, who has invaded
 ' the distressed Republick of *Poland*, to retire out
 ' of it, and to prevent the Effects of such impious
 ' Factions, as either for Interest or Fears of the Ene-
 ' my's Power and Threats, have endeavoured these
 ' two Years past to dethrone their lawful King:
 ' We have formerly declared our Abhorrence of
 ' such perfidious Proceedings, in a Letter sent to
 ' the whole Republick, wherein we acquainted them
 ' at the same Time, that we were bound by the
 ' strongest Ties of brotherly Love and Alliances,
 ' and by our own Inclinations to defend the com-
 ' mon Right of Princes, to prevent such a horrible
 ' Design, which deserved the severest Expressions
 ' of God's Vengeance and Wrath; and that we
 ' should be obliged to look upon such Rebels to their
 ' King and the Republick, as our Enemies, and pur-
 ' sue them with Fire and Sword: These Exhorta-
 ' tions and Warnings, had such good Effect at first,
 ' that the Fire, which had begun to spread itself,
 ' seemed extinguished; but, as appeared soon after, it
 ' was only hid under deceitful Ashes, till the *Swedes*
 ' did blow it up again into a sudden Flame; and
 ' the Waywood of *Posnania Lescinsky* was unlaw-
 ' fully elected by a small Number of inconsiderable
 ' Persons to be King, contrary to the Sentiments of
 ' many of the Confederates that appeared at the
 ' Election, and in Opposition to the Liberties and
 ' Rights, not only of *Poland*, but the whole Uni-
 ' verse, and this detestable Act was not only pro-
 ' tested against by the Archbishop and Cardinal
 ' Primate *Radziowski*, and other Senators of the
 ' first Rank, though they had at the Time a Quar-
 ' rel with their lawful Prince, but the Marechal
 ' of the confederated Nobility could never be per-
 ' swaded to give his Consent to this illegal Choice:
 ' But the *Swede* notwithstanding, persisted obsti-
 ' nately

'nately in his Design, and exercising an absolute
 Power in the Republick has compelled some of
 the Nobility to conclude a Treaty with the *Swedish*
 Envoys, in the Name of the elected, who very
 submissively hearkens to the Dictates of the *Swedes*.
 Part of the aforesaid Confederates were indeed
 taken Prisoners by their lawful King, and the Rest
 were dispersed; but not only the Distance of our
 main Army, and the Animosities between the
 Forces of the Republick, but also the small Num-
 ber of the *Saxons*, soon after obliged the fore-
 named King *Augustus* to march to *Saxony* with
 Part of his *Saxon* Troops, in order to prevent
 the intended Invasion of the *Swedes* into that
 Electorate. He designed to return soon to *Poland*,
 but his Return has hitherto been obstructed by
 the *Swedes*, who have shut up all the Passages:
 This emboldened the Enemy to publish, in the
 Name of the Cardinal Primate, circular Letters,
 confirming the forenamed unlawful Election; and
 having called together the petty Diets the twenty-
 sixth of *June*, a general one was summoned to
 meet the Eleventh of the next ensuing Month.
 We cannot believe, that these Universalia were
 issued by the Cardinal Primate, who being not
 only the Head of the Clergy, but also the first
 Member of the Republick, was chiefly concerned,
 to endeavour a Reconciliation between the Sub-
 jects of *Poland* and their lawful Prince. So that
 we have Reason to think that this unlawful As-
 sembly of the Deputies of *Poland*, was purely con-
 trived by the subtle Enemy, as may partly appear
 by the false Rumours spread by him, viz. That
 the King of *Prussia*, desponding of a Reconcilia-
 tion betwixt King *Augustus* and the *Swede*, had
 embraced the Party of the King of *Sweden*, and
 the elected Person: The falshood of this Imputa-
 tion is manifest by the Letter sent by the King of
Prussia to the Cardinal upon this Account: And
 although the King of *Prussia* being a neutral Prince
 in this War, has not been adverse to the Party of
 the

' the *Swedes*, yet we are assured that he will not
 ' recognize the elected Person, in regard it would
 ' injure all crowned Heads, who in this World have
 ' none above them, besides the Omnipotent Judge,
 ' who, according to his Holy Will and Pleasure,
 ' deposes Kings, and places others in their room.
 ' So that we cannot imagine this detestable Prac-
 ' tice which is so abhor'd in the Sight of God, can
 ' be approved of by Men; even if not only a small
 ' Number, but also all the Subjects without suffi-
 ' cient Cause, presume to dethrone their Prince in
 ' Compliance with his Enemies Desires. For which
 ' Reason we are confident that the said *Universalia*
 ' were published by the Enemy, who therein makes
 ' mention of the Desolations of the Country of *Pol-
 ' land*, and the Depredations committed upon the
 ' holy Churches and Lands, but the Persons guilty
 ' thereof are not named; yet it was proposed therein
 ' to call a general Diet, to prevent such Grievances
 ' for the future, and that the best Expedient for
 ' that End, would be to confirm the illegal Choice
 ' of the Waywood of *Posen*, and to depend upon the
 ' Promises of the King of *Sweden*, as though he
 ' was come into *Poland* to preserve the violated
 ' Laws of the Republick. We do verily believe,
 ' that only such as are blinded by Bribes, will give
 ' any Credit to this cunning, dangerous, and pernicious
 ' Deceit, the plundering the Towns and Cas-
 ' tles in *Poland* and *Lithuania* of their Wealth, Or-
 ' naments, Ammunition and Artillery; the Churches
 ' and Monasteries of the Relicks of Saints, their Or-
 ' naments, and their very Bells; and the Oppres-
 ' sions of the Waywood-Ships and other Lands by
 ' intolerable Taxes exacted there, shew what a Friend
 ' to *Poland* the *Swede* is, notwithstanding all his Pre-
 ' tences that he is come into *Poland*, not to seek his
 ' own Interest, but to protect the Republick: And
 ' by his assuming the Sovereignty of *Courland*, and
 ' giving his General *Leuwenhaupt* the Title of Vice-
 ' Governor of that Country, it may be apprehended
 ' he will do the like by some fortified Towns in
 ' *Prussia*.

‘ *Prussia.* These Things considered again, we do
 ‘ declare, that we will defend our Brother and Al-
 ‘ ly, King *Augustus*, to the utmost of our Power,
 ‘ by Virtue of our solemn Alliances with that
 ‘ Prince and the whole Republick; and are for that
 ‘ End resolved, upon the Petition delivered to us
 ‘ in the Name of the Republick, to advance in
 ‘ Person, with an Army into *Poland*, without any
 ‘ regard to our own Interest; and therefore we no-
 ‘ tify to all States of the Republick, to forbear com-
 ‘ ing to any particular Congress, or joining them-
 ‘ selves to such as are assembled at *Warsaw*, in fa-
 ‘ vour of the elected, in pain of being punished in
 ‘ their Persons and Possessions, with Fire and Sword;
 ‘ and to prevent any Plea of Ignorance, we require
 ‘ all true Sons of their native Country, after they
 ‘ shall have detected the Artifices of the Enemy,
 ‘ to lay aside their private Animosities, and to act
 ‘ unanimously for their common good; and in or-
 ‘ der thereunto, to endeavour the Expulsion of the
 ‘ Enemy who hath disturbed your Peace, we pro-
 ‘ mise, upon our Parole, that we will assist you
 ‘ herein as a faithful Ally, having no Preten-
 ‘ sions upon you, and we testify before God, that
 ‘ we are all advanced with our Forces into the
 ‘ Lands of the Republick, meerly upon pressing In-
 ‘ vitations and Intreaties, and for the Sake of your
 ‘ Interest only; and that we demand for the Sub-
 ‘ sistance of our Army such Quantities of Bread, as
 ‘ had been stipulated in our Alliance with the Re-
 ‘ publick; and that we will enjoin our Forces, on
 ‘ pain of Death, to commit no Disorders in your
 ‘ Country. We heartily wish that you will be
 ‘ unanimous, and open your Eyes to your Welfare,
 ‘ as the only Means to recover your Liberty. We
 ‘ remain a faithful Ally, and affectionate Friend.

*Dated in our Head Quarters in the Camp near Potosk
 the twenty-third of June 1705. And the twenty-
 first Year of our Reign.*

His Czarish Majesty had been received on the nineteenth at *Vilna*, the Capital of *Lithuania*, by the Referendary of the great Dutchy and Marefchal of the Tribunal, in the Name of King *Augustus* and all the State. This Lord made a long Speech to him to give him Joy on his Arrival, and felicitated his Country on having fo powerful a Protector, who had fo generously undertaken to defend them from the Ruin that the *Suedes* would bring upon them without his Affiftance. Prince *Menzikoff* in a few Words answered this Difcourfe of the *Lithuanian*, and his Majesty renewed the Promifes he had before made to the Palatine of *Culm* and to *Oginski*, that he would not fuffer his Troops to commit any Diforders. They marched divided in three Bodies, that of the Velt-Marefchal *Czeremetoff*, of which mention has been already made, was between the *Wilna* and the *Duna* in *Courland*; the Hettman *Mazeppa*, to whom the Czar had given the Order of St. *Andrew*, was with fifty or fixty thoufand *Cossacks* entered into Black *Ruffia* to join the Party of King *Augustus*, and the Velt-Marefchal *Ogilev* led that in which the Czar was in Perfon into *Lithuania*, and which was as ftrong as that of the *Cossacks*.

After the Action of *Gemaurthoff*, although General *Leuvenhaupt* had all the Glory of a Triumph, yet he was in no Condition to attend the *Ruffians*, much lefs to act offensively; but his Retreat to *Riga* had left *Courland* expofed to all that the *Ruffian* Troops were willing to undertake: And now the Czar declared that he took that Dutchy under his Protection, ordering the Inhabitants to fend to his Commiffary, Prince *Menzikoff*, all the Arms, and other Effects belonging to the Enemy, that could be found in the Province; but the *Courlanders* were too much in the Intereft of *Sweden* to obey his Order willingly; fo that the Prince was obliged to renew the Ordinance of his Mafter, adding to it Threats of corporal Punifhment againft thofe who fhould conceal any of the *Suedes* Effects, and promifing

ming to give a Moiety to those who should discover them.

In the mean time the King of Sweden remained quietly in his Camp, employed only in his Design of crowning his King in Poland, which met with many Difficulties. The Saxons on one Side, the Russians on the other, and lastly the Cossacks, all agreeing to oppose this pretended Diet.

Admiral *Ankershiern*, who, as we have seen before, made an unsuccessful Attempt upon *Cronslot*, thought he should be able to succeed better now, when he heard that all the Czar's Forces were advanced into Lithuania and Courland. He sent an Officer to Major-General *Meydel* in *Carelia* to desire some Troops of him, but the Major-General, having only five thousand Men, did not care to weaken his own Forces, which however did not hinder the Admiral from persisting in his Design, altho' *Lavale*, the Engineer, who had been sent to view the Island and Fort, would have dissuaded him from it; the Admiral himself ordered the Attack. A Hundred Grenadiers, commanded by a Captain were to advance first; a Major and a Captain with another Detachment were to second them; and after that came the chief Body of Troops: This Descent, fixed for the fifteenth of July, was to be made by Favour of the Fire of the Fleet. The Russians under Colonel *Tobulch*, Commandant of the Island of *Retusari*, waited for them without any Disturbance behind their Intrenchments. The Castle was not only in a better State of Defence than when it was attacked before, but was also defended by a good Wall against the Artillery. The advanced Guard of the Swedes met, for their first Obstacle, a Shallow covered with the Points of Rocks, which broke several of their Sloops, and overset others; the Soldiers with much Intrepidity jump'd into the Water, which was not at first above their Knees, but as they advanced took them up to their Neck, and cost some of them their Lives; these two Difficulties surmounted, a yet greater remained, which was

was the *Russians* lying on their Bellies before their Batteries charged with Catridges, a Discharge from which had all the Success imaginable, destroying the greatest Part of the *Swedes* that were landed, and obliging the Rest to return to their Ships: The *Russians* then with their Muskets, finished what the Cannon had so well begun; so that during this Attack, which did not last an Hour, the *Swedes* had twelve Officers and four Hundred Soldiers killed, nine Officers and a hundred and seventy Men wounded, and were it not for the Fire of their Vessels the *Muscovites*, who pursued them, would not have suffered one Man to return to their Fleet. Thus was the Admiral a second Time forced to retreat, fully convinced of the Strength of the Castle, and the advantageous Situation of it. Nothing could be more pleasing to the Czar than these Advantages gained at Sea, which encouraged him to augment and to establish his Marine.

Major-General *Meydel*, being informed of the Admiral's Enterprize, resolved to lay hold of that Advantage in undertaking something against the Fortress of *Petersburgh*, where Major-General *Robert Bruce* at that Time commanded. Having got together about twenty thousand Fascines, and a large Number of Gabions, he came with his Body of Troops to attack the Line that covered the Fortress; but he found it so well defended, that after an Assault, in which he was repulsed with the Loss of two hundred Men, he quitted the Place to go and encamp on the Ruins of *Nie-Schantz*, which the Czar had demolished to make use of the Materials in building *Petersburgh*, and whither he had transported the greatest Part of the Inhabitants; from thence the *Swedish* Commandant sent a Detachment into *Ingria* where another Detachment from the Garrison of *Petersburgh*, sent by Major-General *Bruce*, soon put them to flight; so that this whole Expedition of the *Swedes* terminated only in attacking a Sawing-Mill, between *Petersburgh* and *Stentelburg*. This Mill was encompassed by a
double

double Range of Palisades, within which the *Russians* had raised a good Parapet, that covered two thousand Men, brought thither to defend that Post. The *Swedish* General summoned them to surrender, which they refusing, he was obliged in Honour to attack the Mill. He was twice repulsed, but at the third Assault his Troops passed the Palisades, and advanced to the Foot of the Parapet, over which he threw a great Quantity of Grenades, some of which set Fire to the *Russian* Magazine of Powder. After this Accident the *Swedes* did not doubt but the Besieged would surrender; but far from it, it served only to make them the more desperate: So that making a Sally on their Enemies, they drove them beyond the Palisades, and after killing above four hundred of their Men, obliged them to retire, with no great Credit, and resume the Rout of *Wyboug*.

While the *Russians* had these Advantages on their Frontiers, the *Czar's* Troops in *Courland*, under the Command of the Generals *Menzikoff*, *Ronne*, *Repnin*, made such Progress that they subdued all that Province to the Obedience of his Czarish Majesty. *Mittaw* and *Bautske* were the two only Places able to oppose the Conquerors; the first surrendered without much Resistance, the other with less, but they were forced to employ their Cannon to oblige Colonel *Knoring* to give up the Castle of *Mittaw*, whither he was retired with about four hundred Men. They had thrown in about a hundred Bombs, and used nine Pieces of Cannon, and after having dismantled two Bastions the Colonel desired to capitulate, and was allowed very honourable Terms by General *Repnin*, upon the Execution of which, it was found that the *Swedes* had pillaged the Palace and Archives of the Dukes of *Courland*, and even entered into the Vaults where their Dead were reposit-
ed, to rob their Carcasses of certain Jewels they had on their Necks and Fingers. The *Russians*, that they might not lie under the Suspicion of such an odious Behaviour, obliged the *Swedes* to be present, while a particular Inventory was taken of
every

every Thing at that Time to be found in the Duke's Palace and Sepulchre.

This Conquest, joined to that of *Bautske*, made the Czar Master of all *Courland*, while the King of *Sweden* did not vouchsafe to send one Man to defend it, so much were his Cares employed on the Business of continuing the Diet at *Warsaw*; and so much was it the Business of his Czarish Majesty to trouble, and, if possible, break up that Diet, that after having left General *Baur* with a Body of Troops in *Courland*, and the Velt-Mareschal *Czernietoff* with another in *Livonia*, he went himself at the Head of his Army into *Lithuania*, with a hundred Pieces of Cannon, having left his great Artillery at *Polosck*. When he arrived at *Grodno*, he fortified that Place, seized on the Passage of *Tykezin*, and established Magazines in several Places, furnishing them not only with what he found in the Country, but with Things that he ordered to be transported from the Provinces of *Pleskow* and *Smolensko*. In short, the *Russians* established different Posts from the Side of *Warsaw* as far as the *Bog*, so that the Czar was absolute Master of all *Lithuania*, and by the Dispositions he made he seemed to aim at nothing more than the Preservation of that Province; which made his Enemies encourage a false Rumour, that his Majesty would take that Opportunity of uniting the Great Dutchy to his own Dominions, and were in Hopes by that Means to draw from his Party, the Nobility of *Lithuania* and Upper *Poland*, who held out for King *Augustus*, to whose Assistance the *Hettman Maseppa* was advancing at the Head of his *Cossacks*.

The End of the Fifth BOOK.

BOOK



 BOOK VI.

The CONTENTS.

King Augustus comes to Grodno, meets the Czar, institutes the Order of the White Eagle. The Czar made a Colonel in his own Army. Leaves Grodno. Patkul arrested by Order of Augustus at Dresden. The Battle of Fravenstad. Charles XII. enters Saxony. The Treaty of Alt-Ranstadt. The Battle of Calish. The Story of the unfortunate Patkul. An Assembly of the Polish Nobility meet at Leopold. The Czar writes to several Potentates complaining of the Behaviour of Augustus. The Assembly of Lublin. Stanislaus comes into Poland. The Action of Holowzin. The King of Sweden marches into the Ukrain. The Battle of Lezno. The Revolt and Sentence of Mazeppa. The Czar's Ambassador arrested in London. Proceeding on that Account. The Siege of Pultowa. The decisive Battle fought near that Place. The King of Sweden's Flight to Bender in Turkey.

KING Augustus had got together an Army of twenty thousand Men in Saxony, but it was almost impossible to bring them into Poland, all the Passages being so well guarded. Nevertheless he was so strongly pressed by General Patkul, who was at that Time with him, as Ambassador from the Czar, and by the Accounts that he received from *Warsaw*, that he could not but be sensible how necessary his Presence was in that Kingdom, therefore he exposed himself to the almost inevitable Danger of being taken by his Enemies, that

that he might join his faithful Ally. He left *Dresden* incognito, accompanied by three Persons only, and arrived at *Dantzick* on the twenty-eighth of *October*, from whence he went to *Koningsberg*, and from thence to *Tykezin*: As soon as he arrived, he gave Notice of it to the Czar and all those of his Party. He went next to *Grodno*, and from thence to the Army of the Czar, who, at their Meeting, presented him with six Standards, a Moiety of those, which the *Russians* had taken on the Bridge of *Praag* upon the *Vistula*, having surpris'd the *Swedish* Guard that was posted there, which occasioned an Action in which the *Swedes* lost several Prisoners besides thirteen Standards.

It was at *Grodno* that King *Augustus* instituted the Order of the White Eagle, with Design of rewarding several of the Grandees of *Poland*, and some of the *Russian* Generals; but this Honour could seem little more than Matter of Ridicule, when bestowed by one who had himself only the Name of a King. Here likewise another Farce was performed, but such a one, says *M. Fontenelle*, as was at least instructive, and not unfit to be acted by Kings.

His Czarish Majesty, pursuant to the Laws which he had prescribed to himself, would never advance in military Dignities beyond what his Merits might claim: And having requested King *Augustus* to take upon him the Command of his Army, he caused the *Muscovite* General *Ogilvi*, to propose in Publick the filling up two vacant Posts of Colonels. *Augustus* said he was not well enough acquainted with the *Muscovite* Officers to know how to make a proper Choice; so desired *Ogilvi* to name two that he thought worthy those Employments. *Ogilvi* named Prince *Alexander Menzikoff*, and *Peter Alexowitz*, meaning the Czar himself. The King of *Poland* said he knew the Merits of *Menzikoff*, and would forthwith dispatch his Commission; but for the other he was not informed of his Services, but

after

after four or five Days Sollicitation, he made *Peter Alexowitz* a Colonel.

When the Conference between the two Kings ended, his Czarish Majesty left his Troops to his Ally, and went himself to put an End to a Rebellion raised in the Province of *Astracan*, where the Rebels had ravaged the Country for two Years; putting to Death Men, Women, and Children. They had surprized and cut in pieces the Governor of *Astracan*, with most of the chief Officers of the Garrison; they marched next to *Camishinska*; but the Garrison standing upon their Guard, they were repulsed. They next besieged *Czaritza*, but meeting with no Success there, they returned to *Astracan*, where *Peter Matfeich Apraxin*, sent by the Czar with an Army against them, retook *Astracan*, and put all to the Sword, except some of the Chiefs, who were sent to *Moscow*, and there executed, after having been put to the Torture.

The Czar had no sooner left King *Augustus*, but the latter began to listen to some of the Grandees of *Lithuania*, who being very uneasy to see their Country ruined by the *Russians*, endeavoured to raise several Suspicions, which very much diminished the good Understanding that had been between those Princes. One of the first Effects of this appeared in the Order that King *Augustus* sent to arrest General *Patkul* in *Saxony*, who was suspected to be working secretly to reconcile the Czar and the King of *Sweden*. *Patkul* was in *Saxony* in the Quality of Commandant of those Troops which the Czar had sent to the Relief of *Augustus*, and was at the same time cloathed with the Character of his Czarish Majesty's Plenipotentiary to several Princes of *Germany*; performed then the Functions of his Ambassador at *Dresden*, and had done many real Services to King *Augustus*: But all this did not prevent his being taken out of his Bed in the Night, having his Papers seized, and being sent to Prison; this Proceeding astonish'd every Body, and notwithstanding

standing all the plausible Pretences that were assigned for it, the Complaints that the Czar made, and the Manner of his demanding that Minister's Liberty, were publick Proofs of his having done nothing to abuse the Confidence his Master placed in him.

The Time being come when the Armies expected to have gone into Quarters, the King of *Sweden* put himself in Motion to make a Winter Campaign. After several Marches, which at first seemed to be intended against the Army of *Mazeppa*, he took, all on a sudden, the Rout to the *Bog*, which was so hard frozen that the Army marched upon the Ice. *Tykozin* was the first Place it was thought he would have attacked; but the *Russians* had very well fortified it, there were three thousand Men in it, and the Commandant had Orders to defend it to the last Man. The King of *Sweden* came to view the Place, and not thinking proper to attack it, he turned toward *Bielsk* the Capital of *Polackia*, from whence by several Windings he brought his Army to the Side of *Grodno*, where the Velt-Mareschal *Ogilvi* waited for him, in a good Posture in his Lines, and had a great Desire to have tried his Strength with that young Hero; but was ordered to expect him in his Intrenchments. The *Swedes* approached as far as *Michaelowitz*, a Village within a Mile of *Grodno*, where *Charles XII.* came to view the Town, the Camp and the Lines; but he found so terrible an Aspect on all Sides that he thought it proper to change his Design without undertaking any Thing. After so fatiguing a March, that did no small Damage to his Army, he determined to pass the *Niemen*, which was also frozen over, but as the Banks were very high, and the Passage was to be made almost within Sight of the *Russian* Army, he would have found much Difficulty in it, had not the *Russian* Generals received Orders to act only on the Defensive. When the King of *Sweden* had got all his Army over the *Niemen*, he extended it in the Country between *Grodno* and *Vilna*, from
whence

whence he sent several Detachments, from one Side to the other to seek for Provisions, and to hinder the *Russians* from amassing any.

All the Month of *January* was employed in these Motions. In the mean Time King *Augustus* held a grand Council of War, with the *Russian* Generals at *Grodno*, in which it was resolved, that the Generals *Ogilki*, *Allard*, and others, as well *Russians* as *Saxons*, and the great General *Wiesnowisky* should remain at *Grodno*, from whence, as Occasions offered, they might act both offensively and defensively against the *Svedes*; while King *Augustus* was to go into *Poland*, to re-establish his Credit in those Places abandoned by his Enemies, and to give all the Orders that might be necessary for favouring the Entry of his *Saxon* Troops which were on the Banks of the *Oder*, under the Command of General *Shullembourg*, waiting only for a favourable Opportunity to elude the Vigilance of the *Swedish* General *Renchild*.

After several Marches and Counter-marches General *Shullembourg* passed the River with his *Saxons* and *Russians*, the last commanded by Lieutenant-General *Wostromirsky*. General *Renchild*, as soon as he heard of *Shullembourg*'s having passed the *Oder*, began his March, and these two famous Generals met on the twelfth of *February* 1706, at a Place called *Fravenstad*. *Renchild* had about ten thousand Men, *Shullembourg* twice the Number. Both Armies engaged, and in the Battle, which did not last a Quarter of an Hour, the *Saxons* resisted not a Moment, the *Muscovites* behaved but little better; such was the Terror of this brave *Swedish* General, that although *Shullembourg* had made the best Disposition imaginable, yet *Renchild* put them into such Disorder, that he found seven thousand Fuses all charged thrown on the Ground without being fired. The *Muscovites* begged for Life on their Knees, but *Renchild*, as *M. de Voltaire* tells us, ordered them to be inhumanly massacred in cold Blood, above six Hours after the Battle. *Motraye*
contra-

contradicts this, and says, it was the King himself that ordered it, who was not six Leagues from *Fravenstad* when he heard the News of the Battle; and was a little jealous that *Renchild* should obtain such a Victory without his having any Share in it.

King *Augustus* was now driven to the utmost Distress, he had nothing left but *Cracow*, in which Place he was shut up with a few Troops, and was even afraid of being delivered up by them to the Conqueror; the Loss of the Battle of *Fravenstad* had quite discouraged his Party in *Poland*, and put the King of *Sweden* in a Condition to drive the *Russians* out of *Lithuania*, where the Nobility, being weary of maintaining both Friends and Foes, began to declare a-pace for the new King; and the Velt-Mareschal *Ogilvy* seeing the bad Situation he was in, made a very prudent Retreat.

The Czar was, at this Time, at *Smolensko* at the Head of twenty thousand of his best Troops, to which General *Mazeppa* had joined thirty or forty thousand *Cossacks*. Hither came the Bishop of *Cujavia*, on the Part of King *Augustus*, to sound the Sentiments of *Peter I.* whose Retreat was not at all agreeable to the dethroned Monarch, who complained much that his Ally, after having done so much for him, should abandon him. The Czar, though ever so willing to assist him, was not obliged to do all alone, and suffer his Army to perish by Hunger and Cold; besides the present Posture of Affairs made him think of the Defence of his own Dominions; and we must add to this, his Resentment for the Seizure of *Patkul*, whose Release he demanded without vouchsafing to give Audience to the *Polish* Prelate. Nevertheless Prince *Menzikoff* wrote a Letter some Time after to King *Augustus*, in which he tells him, that the Czar his Master had not withdrawn his Troops from *Lithuania*, but to re-establish them in a better Air, and to return with fresh Forces to his Assistance in the Beginning of the next Campaign.

The King of *Sweden* joining *Renchild*, his General, and entering into *Saxony*, which Country he laid under heavy Contributions, compleated the Misfortunes of *Augustus*, who seeing his hereditary Dominions in Danger, found himself under a Necessity to submit to the Conqueror, and therefore determining to offer Proposals of Peace, he sent Baron *Imhoff* and *Pfingsten* to *Charles XII.* These two Plenipotentiaries went very privately, in the Night, to the *Swedish* Camp, at *Alt-Ranjadt*, for fear the *Muscovites* should discover that the King of *Poland*, their Master, was about treating with the King of *Sweden.* He gave them full Powers, and signed a Blank. When *Charles* received the Letter, and read it, he ordered them to wait, and said he would give them his Answer. He retired into his Closet, and having stay'd but a very short Time, returned with a Paper in which he had written the following Contents.

' I consent to give Peace upon the following
' Conditions, in which it must not be expected that
' I shall make the least Alteration.

First, ' That King *Augustus* renounce for ever the
' Crown of *Poland*; that he acknowledge *Stanislaus*
' as lawful King; and that he promise never to re-
' mount the Throne, not even after the Death of
' *Stanislaus.*

Second, ' That he renounce all other Treaties,
' and particularly those he has made with *Mus-*
' *covy.*

Third, ' That he send back with Honour the
' Prince *Sobiesky* into my Camp, and all the Pri-
' soners he has ever taken.

Fourth, ' That he deliver into my Hands all the
' Deserters which have entered into his Service,
' and particularly *John Patkul*, and that all Pro-
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ceedings be stopt against such as have passed from his Service into mine.

The Plenipotentiaries of *Augustus* could not bring *Charles* to make any Abatement of the Rigour of these Conditions ; but were forced to yield to his inflexible Obstinacy. The King of *Sweden*, at that Time, exercised an absolute Power in *Saxony*. He even ordered the Registers of the Finances to be laid before him, that he might know the Strength of the Electorate, and how much he could demand of the States ; from which he exacted six hundred and twenty-five thousand Crowns at first, and afterwards five hundred thousand Crowns per Month.

Whilst the Treaty before-mentioned was secretly negotiating in the Camp at *Alt-Ransstadt*, Prince *Menzikoff*, Generalissimo of the *Muscovite* Army brought thirty thousand Men, and joined the Forces of *Augustus*, which in the whole made not above six thousand Men. The King was in the utmost Confusion when the *Muscovites* arrived, and under terrible Apprehensions of what might be the Consequence, if they should discover his Negotiation with *Sweden* : But he was still in much greater Perplexity, when he beheld the Presence of ten thousand *Swedes*, commanded by General *Meyerfeldt*, approaching him at *Calish*, near the Palatinate of *Possania*. He would have been glad to have declined an Engagement, lest he should irritate a Conqueror but too much incensed already : In this Extremity he could think of no better Expedient than to send one he could trust to the *Swedish* General, to let him partly into the Secret of the Negotiation, and to desire him to withdraw ; but this had a quite contrary Effect to what the King of *Poland* expected ; for *Meyerfeldt*, taking this to be only an Invention to amuse him, redoubled his Ardour for the Fight. *Augustus* pressed forward by the Instances of Prince *Menzikoff*, and provoked at the Confidence of *Meyerfeldt*, was forced to consent to a Battle, which, whether won, or lost, would be alike fatal to him.

Victory

Victory was now on the Side of the *Muscovites*; the *Swedes*, and their Allies being encompassed on all Sides, were obliged to throw down their Arms and beg for Quarter. They had about three thousand Men killed and wounded, and four or five thousand taken Prisoners, among which were General *Meyerfeldt*, Count *Tarlo*, and several Officers of Distinction, all the Enemy's Artillery and Baggage were in the Power of the Victors; but when *Augustus* was entering into *Warsaw*, in Triumph, *Pfingsten*, one of his Plenipotentiaries, presented him with the Treaty of Peace, which deprived him of his Crown. In the first Emotions of his Heart, when he had read the shameful Articles he was to subscribe to, he paused with himself for a short Time, to consider if he ought not rather to march at the Head of his now victorious Troops, and fall upon the King who treated him so disgracefully: But considering that *Charles* was at the Head of an Army never yet beaten, that the *Muscovites* would all forsake him when they heard of the Treaty, and that his hereditary Country would be ravaged by both Parties, *Swedes* and *Muscovites*, he thought it most adviseable to sign to the hard Conditions the King of *Sweden* imposed upon him: And then set out for *Saxony*, in Hopes of softening, by his Presence, the Inflexibility of his Enemy.

Charles XII. and *Augustus* met in Count *Piper's* Quarters at *Guntersdorf* more than once, where the first treated his vanquished Foe with all the outward Appearance of Respect and Civility; but that was of little Value, when weighed against the real Severity with which he exacted his Compliance with every Article of the Treaty; and as a farther Punishment for his having dared to give his General Battle at *Calish*, he forced the ungrateful Task upon him, of writing a congratulatory Letter to *Stanislaus*, on his Advancement to the Crown of *Poland*; which, with *Stanislaus's* Answer, were as follow:

Sir and Brother,

‘ **A**S I ought to have Regard to the Request of
 ‘ the King of *Sweden*, I cannot avoid congratulating your Majesty, upon your coming to the
 ‘ Crown, though perhaps the advantageous Treaty
 ‘ the King of *Sweden* has lately concluded for
 ‘ your Majesty, might have excused me from this
 ‘ Correspondence: However, I congratulate your
 ‘ Majesty, beseeching God that your Subjects may
 ‘ be more faithful to you, than they have been to
 ‘ me.

Augustus, King.

Leipsic, April 8, 1707.

Stanislaus thus answered.

Sir and Brother,

‘ **T**HE Correspondence of your Majesty is a
 ‘ fresh Obligation which I owe to the King
 ‘ of *Sweden*; I have a just Sense of the Compliments you make me upon my coming to the
 ‘ Crown: And I hope my Subjects will have no
 ‘ Room to fail of their Fidelity towards me, as I
 ‘ shall observe the Laws of the Kingdom.

Stanislaus, King of *Poland*.

Augustus from this Time was obliged to renounce the Title of King of *Poland*, and his Name was ordered to be erased out of the publick Prayers, to give Place to that of *Stanislaus*, all which he could more easily digest than the being obliged to give up *Potul* to the Vengeance of the King of *Sweden*. He had, to the Amazement of all *Europe*, been clapt into Prison, as is before related, although at that Time Ambassador from the Czar of *Muscovy*, soon after the Interview and Parting of that Monarch and King *Augustus* at *Grodno*.

The

The Czar on one Hand loudly demanded his Minister; but *Charles XII.* threatened terrible things if he was not delivered to him, according to the Treaty of *Alt-Ranstadt*.

The melancholy Story of that *Livonian* Patriot was this :

Charles XI. the King of *Sweden*'s Father and Predecessor, among the several Severities he exercised upon his Subjects, had taken away a great many of the Privileges and Estates of the *Livonians*. *Patkul* was deputed by the Nobility of *Livonia* to carry the Complaints of that Province to the King, which he did in the most respectful Manner, accompanied with great Courage and Eloquence. *Charles XI.* seemed not at all displeased with what he had said ; but laying his Hand on *Patkul*'s Shoulder, told him, ' he had spoke for his Country like a brave Man, ' and that he loved him for it : ' Yet a few Days after, caused him to be condemned for a Traitor. *Patkul* found Means to make his Escape into *Poland*, and was well received by *Augustus*, from whose Service he passed into that of the Czar, and so continued till the Time of his Confinement in the Castle of *Konigstein*, which was occasioned by his having discovered the Design of Count *Fleming* and the Chancellor of *Saxony*, to obtain a Peace with *Sweden* at any Rate ; upon which he immediately formed a Scheme to supplant theirs, and bring about an Accommodation between the Czar, his new Master, and the *Swedes*. The others getting some Intelligence of this, soon found Means to prevail upon *Augustus*, to imprison him ; and that Prince, writing to the Czar on the Occasion, told him that *Patkul* was a perfidious Wretch, and would betray them both. Though his greatest Crime was having served his Master with too much Fidelity, and being always true to his Trust.

The Czar who had great Penetration, and knew the Merits of *Patkul*, insisted upon his being sent

back to him; *Augustus*, at the same Time intimidated by the Threats of the King of *Sweden*, was much embarrassed in his Thoughts, till he came to this Resolution, that he would secretly contrive the Prisoner's Escape, by which Means he should both satisfy the Czar and evade the Wrath of *Charles XII.* But the ill Fortune of *Patkul* disappointed this well-laid Design: For the Governor of the Castle of *Königstein*, where he lay imprisoned, knowing he was rich, demanded a large Sum of Money of him for his Liberty; *Patkul* relying on the Law of Nations, and being informed of *Augustus's* Intentions, refused to pay the Mercenary Governor for that Piece of Service which his Duty to his Master ought to have made him ready to have rendered him: And while they were thus disputing the Matter, a Party of *Swedes*, appointed for that Purpose, came up and forced the Victim out of the Hands of his Jailor. He was strait carried to the General Quarters at *Alt-Ranstadt*, and there kept, for three Months, chained to a Stake.

The remaining Part of the History of this unfortunate, but worthy, Man, is thus pathetically related by *M. de Voltaire*.

' *Charles XII.* forgetting that *Patkul* was the Czar's
' Ambassador, and considering only that he was
' born his Subject, ordered a Council of War to
' pass Sentence upon him, with the utmost Rigour;
' he was condemned to be broke alive upon the
' Wheel and quartered. A Chaplain came to let
' him know, that he was to die, without inform-
' ing him of the Manner of his Punishment. Upon
' the Information, this Man, who had braved Death
' in so many Battles, finding himself alone with a
' Priest, and his Courage no longer supported by
' Glory or Passion, the only Sources of Intrepidity,
' broke into a bitter Flood of Tears, which he
' poured into the Bosom of the Chaplain. He was
' engaged to a *Saxon* Lady, named *Madam D'Enfil-*
' *den*, who had all the Advantages of Birth, Merit,
' and Beauty, and whom he had Thoughts of mar-
' rying

‘ rying much about the same Time that he was
 ‘ delivered up to Punishment. He desired the Chap-
 ‘ lain to wait upon her, to comfort her, and assure
 ‘ her, that he died full of the tenderest Regards for
 ‘ her. When he was led to the Place of Execution,
 ‘ and saw the Wheel and Stake that were prepared
 ‘ for his Death, he fell into Convulsions of Terror,
 ‘ and threw himself into the Arms of the Minister,
 ‘ who embraced him, and covered him with his
 ‘ Cloak, and wept over him. A *Swedish* Officer
 ‘ then read aloud a Paper, containing the follow-
 ‘ ing Words.

*This is to declare that the express Order of his Ma-
 jesty, our most merciful Lord, is, that this Man, who is a
 Traitor to his Country, be broke upon the Wheel, and
 quartered, for the Reparation of his Crimes, and for an
 Example to others; that every one may take Care of
 Treason, and faithfully serve his King. At the Words,
 most merciful Lord, Patkul cry'd out, What Mercy!
 and at those of Traitor to his Country, alafs! said he,
 I have served it too well. He received sixteen Blows,
 and endured the longest and most dreadful Tortures
 that can be imagined. Thus died the unhappy John
 Renold Patkul, Ambassador and General of the Czar
 of Muscovy.*

‘ Those who looked upon him only as a Subject
 ‘ who had rebelled against his King, thought that
 ‘ he had deserved his Death; but those who con-
 ‘ sidered him as a *Livonian*, born in a Province
 ‘ which had Privileges to defend, and who recol-
 ‘ lected that he was driven from *Livonia* only for hav-
 ‘ ing supported those Privileges, called him a Mar-
 ‘ tyr to the Liberty of his Country. But all agreed
 ‘ that the Title of Ambassador to the Czar ought
 ‘ to have rendered his Person sacred. Only the
 ‘ King of *Sweden*, brought up in the Principles of
 ‘ Arbitrary Power, judged that he had done no
 ‘ more than an Act of Justice, whilst all *Europe*
 ‘ condemned his Cruelty.

‘ His Members were quartered, and remained
 ‘ exposed upon Gibbets till the Year 1713, when
 ‘ *Augustus* having regained his Throne, ordered
 ‘ their Testimonies of the Necessity he was reduced
 ‘ to, at *Alt-Ransstadt*, to be collected together; they
 ‘ were brought to him in a Box to *Warsaw*, in Pre-
 ‘ sence of the *French* Ambassador. The King of
 ‘ *Poland*, shewing the Box to that Minister, said
 ‘ simply to him, *see the Members of Patkul*, without
 ‘ any Addition of Blame or Complaint, or with-
 ‘ out any of the Persons present venturing to speak
 ‘ upon so tender and sorrowful a Subject.

This hard Treatment of *Patkul*, *M. de la Motraye*
 endeavours to palliate: ‘ The Remonstrances, saith
 ‘ he, made by Count *Patkul* to *Charles XI.* in the
 ‘ Name of the *Livonian* Nobility, stript of their
 ‘ Privileges and their Estates, which *Gustavus Adol-
 ‘ phus* had granted to their Forefathers as a Re-
 ‘ ward for their Services in his Wars, might ap-
 ‘ pear just in a free State, as *England* is; but were
 ‘ judged to tax an absolute Prince, as *Charles XI.*
 ‘ was, with double Injustice; for his *Swedish* Sub-
 ‘ jects had before undergone the same Treatment.
 ‘ The Reason why *Patkul*’s Sentence was confirm-
 ‘ ed, was because *Charles XII.* had Information that
 ‘ he had laid the Plan of a tripple Alliance between
 ‘ the Kings of *Denmark*, *Poland*, and the Czar, to
 ‘ bring them at once upon the *Swedish* Dominions,
 ‘ and that the said *Patkul* had not ceased to blow up
 ‘ the Coals of that War, which cost so much Blood.
 ‘ If he was innocent, he ought, it is said, to have
 ‘ retired into some neutral Country, or some King-
 ‘ dom in Alliance with *Sweden*, as soon as he saw
 ‘ that War begun, instead of remaining in the
 ‘ Czar’s Service. What other Name, they ask, can
 ‘ be given to *Patkul*’s Proceeding than that of High-
 ‘ Treason? And since the Laws of *Sweden* punish
 ‘ this Crime with the Rack, what Barbarity can
 ‘ *Charles XII.* be reproached with?

When his Czarilh Majesty heard of the unac-
 countable Treaty of *Alt-Ransstadt*, and of *Patkul*, his
 Ambassador

Ambassador and General's being imprisoned; it is easy to imagine what Thoughts he must entertain of such Conduct. This Treachery of his Ally thwarted all his Designs, and obliged him to retire to the Frontiers of his own Dominions, that he might secure his Conquests in *Ingria* and *Livonia*. *Narva* was strongly fortify'd, and his People worked incessantly at *Petersburgh*, but above all he endeavoured to bring as many Vessels as possible into the Gulph of *Finland*.

The *Swedish* Admiral made a new Attempt, with little Damage, on the Fortress of *Petersburgh*; and his Czarish Majesty, imitating the Policy of the great *Hannibal*, to draw the *Swedes* out of his Country, carried the War Home into their own Territories; with this View, in the Depth of Winter he laid Siege to *Wybourg*, the Capital of *Cavelia*; in which Service he employed eighteen thousand Foot, and six thousand Horse. The Siege lasted three Weeks, during which he threw fifteen hundred Bombs into the Town; but Major-General *Meydel* had the Precaution to bring Troops and Provisions into the Place before it was block'd up; besides which the Besieged had the Sea opened to them, and the Major-General fearing nothing but that they might yield to the Vigour of the Assault, added to the Body of Troops he already commanded, a great Number of the Militia got together from all Parts of the Country about, with which he advanced to succour the Besieged. All these Difficulties joined to the Season of the Year, rendered the Enterprize of the *Russians* impracticable, for which Reason they retired into their Winter-Quarters, and his Czarish Majesty called about him the most experienced of his Generals, to consult with them how to prevent the ill Consequences that might be expected from what had passed in *Saxony*, and while his Army was recruiting, and fresh Stores supplying his Magazines, he took much Pains, by his Emissaries, to secure the Interest of those *Polanders*, who had as much Reason as himself, to complain

of King *Augustus's* having abandon'd, and sacrificed them to their Enemies.

It was at one Time propos'd in the Czar's Council, to retaliate the King of *Sweden's* Usage of *Patkul* by treating the *Swedish* Officers, who were Prisoners at *Moscow*, in the same Manner: But his Majesty could not consent to such Barbarity; which indeed might have had very bad Consequences, since there were more *Muscovites* Prisoners in *Sweden* than there were *Swedes* in *Muscovy*. He resolv'd therefore on a safer and more honourable Revenge. And, having gained the Principal of the *Poles* over to his Interest, he was requested by them to take the Republick into his Protection, which he very readily agreed to, on his Part, and they, on their Side, agreed to call an Assembly at *Leopold*, that they might take Measures for their common Interest.

The Czar being at *Zolkiew*, the Quarters of Prince *Menzikoff*, several of the *Polish* Grandees came to him there to pay their Court, before they met in the Assembly of *Leopold*; his Behaviour to them was so obliging, and he heaped such Favours on them, as entirely gained him the Affection of all who approached him. The Grand Council met in the Month of *February*; the chief Grandees at this Meeting were, the Primate of the Kingdom, the Bishop of *Cujavia*, the Palatines of *Lublin*, *Mazovia*, *Padolia* and *Belz*, the Castellans of *Lublin*, *Leopold*, *Camienieck*, *Bietz*, and *Gheln*, the Vice-Chancellor of the Crown, the Great Sword-Bearer, the Referendary, the Marechal of the Court of *Lithuania*, the Grand General of the Crown, Prince *Wiesnowisky*, the under General, and several other Bishops and Senators. Count *Denhoff*, Sword-Bearer of the Crown, spoke first in the Assembly, as Marechal of the Confederacy of *Sendomir*, and made a pathetic Speech on the unfortunate State of the Kingdom, earnestly exhorting the Members of it to Unanimity at that Juncture, when the Honour of their native Country was so much at Stake. It was resolv'd
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in this Assembly to renew the Confederation of *Sandomir*, and the grand Question was, *Whether they had any King or not?* Which passing in the Negative, they talked of declaring the Throne *vacant*, and agreed to summon a Diet to meet at *Lublin* in *May* following. The Assembly, at the same Time, insisted upon writing to all foreign Potentates to desire them to forbear acknowledging any Person for King of *Poland*, till the Republick had notify'd to them what Prince they had elected. The General of the Crown read in the Assembly a Letter from the Czar, wherein he tells them: ' That since ' the King of *Sweden*, by Force and Cunning, had ' obtained his Ends in dethroning King *Augustus*, ' there was no Reason to doubt but he would make ' Use of the same Means to deceive the Republick; ' and that to this Intent, his Ministers had caused a ' Report to be spread in foreign Courts, that a ' Peace was negotiating between his Czarish Majesty and him. His Czarish Majesty did not deny, that being at *Streliza* he expressed to some foreign Ministers the Inclination he had to Peace, and that as a Christian, he thought himself obliged to listen to any Overtures of Peace from the King of *Sweden*, to avoid the Effusion of Christian Blood; but that he would never enter into any Treaty but publicly in Concert with the Republick, and by Ministers nominated by each of them. Much less would he ever give Ear to any private Negotiation through the Canal or Mediation of foreign Powers. Such a Thought could never enter into his Mind, since he was of Opinion, that the Faith and Honour of a Monarch, depended on his religious Observation of Treaties, which ought to have greater Weight with him than his own particular Interests.

The Assembly, upon reading this Letter, came to a Resolution of returning Thanks to his Czarish Majesty, for his favourable Dispositions towards the Republick, and to concert Measures together to enable them to act properly in the present Situation of their Affairs. During these Transactions
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the Czar arrived at *Leopold*, with the *Czarewicz*, his Son, then seventeen Years of Age, Prince *Menzikoff* and some of his Ministers. His Majesty was received publicly, with much Ceremony, and great Marks of Respect and Confidence. He assisted at their Debates, and forgot nothing that might induce the Senators to confirm the Royal Confederacy of *Sandomir*, so that what was done by them at this Meeting may be look'd upon only as a Conclusion of that Confederacy.

His Majesty, very well satisfied with the Assurances he had received of their inviolable Attachment to his Interests, returned to *Zolkiew* with the *Czarewicz* and Prince *Menzikoff*: And as a Report had been spread, that his Majesty had a Design to propose his Son, in the Diet of *Lublin*, for King of *Poland*, to prevent any Suspicions of that Kind, he sent the *Czarewicz* to *Moscow*, and to shew his Readiness to execute the Treaty he had concluded with the Republick, he immediately ordered eight hundred thousand Florins to be paid to the *Polish* Troops, viz. five hundred thousand to the Army of the Crown, and the Rest to that of *Lithuania*.

From the Place where the Czar now was, he wrote to several Potentates complaining of the Cowardise and Treachery, as he called it, of King *Augustus*, and of the Violation of the Laws of Nations by the King of *Sweden*: The following is a Copy of the Letter sent to Queen *Anne*.

WE send our friendly and brotherly Greeting to your Royal Majesty, the most Serene and most Potent Lady, by the Grace of God, Queen of Great-Britain.

Most Honourable and beloved Sister,

Although it is unknown to your Royal Majesty, yet we have judg'd it necessary, as Affairs now stand, in a friendly and brotherly Manner, to acquaint you, by this Letter, and as briefly as possible

' possible with the Services we have done King
 ' *Augustus*, from his first Election to the Crown of
 ' the Kingdom of *Poland*; having by our power-
 ' ful Endeavours, for the common Benefit of that
 ' Crown, hindered the Prince of *Conti*, who had
 ' been chosen before by Part of the Republick,
 ' from taking Possession of it, and even sent a nu-
 ' merous Army against that Prince's Party, for the
 ' Use and Service of those Senators who sided
 ' with King *Augustus*, before any League had
 ' been concluded with him, on his Entrance
 ' into *Poland*. This Army was immediately, up-
 ' on his Arrival, put under his Command, that
 ' he might be able to punish his Enemies; besides
 ' which, we threatened the contrary Party with
 ' Fire and Sword, upon Apprehension whereof,
 ' many were forced to acknowledge him; and
 ' so by our Assistance he was firmly settled upon
 ' the Throne. Afterwards by his particular Intrea-
 ' ties, and a Message by General *Carlowitz* in the
 ' Year 1700, we concluded with him an Alliance
 ' against the Crown of *Sweden*, in which there were
 ' no Subsidies of Money promised him. Moreover
 ' many Affronts and Injuries having been done us,
 ' at the Beginning of the War, by the Crown of
 ' *Sweden*, we were prevailed with by the earnest
 ' Solicitations of his Minister, General *Larga*, in an
 ' improper Season, it being the latter End of Au-
 ' tumn, for his Relief, and to make the Enemy turn
 ' their Arms against us, to begin the Attack of
 ' *Narva*: And then his Forces, contrary to his Pro-
 ' mise, leaving ours in Action, went into Quarters
 ' in *Poland* and *Courland*, on which Occasion our
 ' Forces suffered no small Loss. Notwithstanding
 ' which, a League being renewed with him at *Birsa*
 ' in 1701, not a small Sum of Money was lent him;
 ' besides which we assisted him with twenty thou-
 ' sand Foot. Nevertheless this signified nothing,
 ' nor were our Armies made use of according to
 ' the Treaty; but by the Intrigues of the *French*
 ' Ambassador, *Du Giron*, (to whom, contrary to our
 ' Agree-

‘ Agreement, and personal Protestation, confirmed
‘ by us, full Power was at that time given to treat
‘ about a separate Peace) those our Forces, without
‘ Necessity, were greatly fatigued; the Enemy per-
‘ mitted to pass the *Dwina*; and our Armies dis-
‘ missed without being supplied with Provisions
‘ during their March, for which the said King re-
‘ ceived Money from us; which caused great Num-
‘ bers of them to perish, and others to desert. Not-
‘ withstanding all this, upon his repeated Assurances
‘ and Messages, we renewed a League with him in
‘ the Year 1703, and promised him three hundred
‘ thousand *Roubles* for the Use of his Forces, and
‘ twelve thousand Foot to be maintained at our own
‘ Charge, which we faithfully performed. And altho’
‘ the Subsidies and Auxiliaries were not then speci-
‘ fied in that Treaty, nor whether the same should
‘ be given yearly, yet we sent him every Year no
‘ less than the abovementioned Sum, not reckoning
‘ other immense Charges we were at, for preserving
‘ the Republick in his Interest. But instead of
‘ employing the Forces against the Enemy, he made
‘ them march to and fro in *Poland*, whereby they
‘ were very much fatigued, and afterwards part-
‘ ing from them, without any Occasion, he per-
‘ mitted them to be driven into *Saxony*, together
‘ with his *Saxons*; whereby, without any Necessity,
‘ half of them were unaccountably lost, and the
‘ rest were forced to die with Hunger. And altho’
‘ free Winter Quarters were promised them, in the
‘ Treaty, yet, on the contrary, it was forbidden
‘ to supply them with Bread in their Quarters;
‘ upon which our Minister extraordinary, *Van Pat-
‘ kul*, then residing at his Court, and Chief Gene-
‘ ral of those Forces, in order to preserve them
‘ from utter and certain Ruin, agreed with the
‘ Emperor’s Ministers, to put them into his Impe-
‘ rial Majesty’s Service, for which, by the Sug-
‘ gestion of the said King’s wicked and treacherous
‘ *Saxon* Ministers, he was put under an Arrest, con-
‘ trary to the Law of Nations, and, without our
‘ Con-

' Consent, was cast, like a Traytor, into a loathsome
 ' Prison. Although we were obliged, for the In-
 ' terest of the said King *Augustus*, as well before
 ' the Affront offered to our Minister, as after the
 ' going off of the said King out of *Poland*, in order
 ' to preserve him upon his Throne, and defend the
 ' Republick of *Poland* against the *Swedish* Forces, to
 ' leave all our Armies to act for his Interest, and at
 ' the Desire of the Republick, by their extraordina-
 ' ry Embassy, to march with all our Forces into
 ' *Poland*, where they were obliged to be maintain-
 ' ed to this Day, to our great Charge, in our own
 ' Pay: Yet, notwithstanding all this, his Generals
 ' at their going out of *Saxony* with our and their
 ' Troops, suffered themselves, not without suspicion
 ' of Treachery, to be beaten without any Resistance,
 ' and our poor Forces were so deserted, that only
 ' one thousand six hundred of them remained, and
 ' these, with much ado, saved themselves and re-
 ' turned into *Saxony*. Although King *Augustus*,
 ' upon our repeated Instances, and Solicitations,
 ' promised both before and after his infamous Peace,
 ' by his Messages, and Protestations made to us by
 ' his General *Goltz*, either to deliver up to us, or se-
 ' cretly to set at Liberty, our said Minister and Gene-
 ' ral, *Van Patkul*, yet nothing was performed: Not-
 ' withstanding which, without regarding the into-
 ' lerable Falshoods of the said King *Augustus*, his
 ' Non-performances of the Treaty made with
 ' us, his imprisoning our Minister, and violating
 ' the Laws of Nations; nor his many secret Mes-
 ' sages to the Enemy, (contrary to our Interest,
 ' and tending to a separate Peace) as well by the
 ' *Sieur Octptima*, as by the Countess of *Koningsmar*,
 ' and afterwards in Writing by their Secretaries
 ' *Imoff* and *Pfingsten*, from the Beginning of the
 ' War, and after their Entrance into *Saxony*, of
 ' which Transaction, we had Notice given us by
 ' several of our faithful Friends; and notwith-
 ' standing we had those Treaties in our Hands, yet
 ' we did not leave to assist him both with our
 ' Forces

' Forces and Money ; and in the last Campaign, tho'
 ' the Season of the Year was so far advanced, it
 ' being the latter End of Autumn, yet being desi-
 ' rous to draw the Enemy back, and harrafs his
 ' Army, we sent our Cavalry under the Com-
 ' mand of our General Prince *Menzikoff*, to join
 ' him, and his *Saxon* and *Polish* Forces ; who
 ' marching towards *Kalisz*, met with the Swedish
 ' General *Mardeveldt*, and the *Poles* of the contrary
 ' Party, under the Command of the *Waiwode* of
 ' *Kiew* ; and by the Assistance of the most High,
 ' entirely defeated them, and took their chief Ge-
 ' neral, and many other inferior Officers and Sol-
 ' diers Prisoners of War, whereby all *Poland* was
 ' brought under his Obedience. After this, being
 ' fully supplied with all Necessaries, we designed,
 ' by the Help of the most High, to act still in his
 ' Defence, which was begun with the Action at
 ' *Wybourg* in *Finland*, and did expect many good
 ' Consequences from that Defeat, and relied on a
 ' strict Observance of the Treaty, pursuant to the
 ' Assurances we had received from him in two
 ' Letters, written since the Battle, the first dated
 ' the thirty-first of *October*, and the second the
 ' twentieth of *November* ; but saw, at first, that he
 ' began to take away from our said General, Prince
 ' *Menzikoff*, the general Officers, and other Prisoners,
 ' we had taken ; giving his Royal Word, and many
 ' Assurances, that he would either exchange them
 ' for our Generals, and other Officers detained in
 ' *Sweden* ; (for the Performances whereof, General
 ' *Mardeveldt*, with the rest of the Officers, gave also
 ' their Parole, and confirmed the same to our Ge-
 ' neral) or if it were not possible to effect this Ex-
 ' change, that he would restore the said Prisoners
 ' into our Hands : But, contrary to all his Pro-
 ' mises, he let them go without any Exchange.
 ' After this, we understood, to our great Astonish-
 ' ment, that he had already concluded a dishonour-
 ' able Peace with the King of *Sweden* and *Leczins-
 ' sky*, yielding up all his Rights to the Crown of
 ' *Poland*,

' *Poland*, and surrendering all to the Pleasure of
 ' his Enemies, without giving us any previous
 ' Notice that we might have provided for our own
 ' Security, in Return of the innumerable Favours
 ' done him by us. But what shews his Ingrati-
 ' tude in the highest Degree is, that that Peace
 ' was confirmed by him many Days before the
 ' Battle; after which, by his Letters, he gave us
 ' earnest Assurances of his firm Adherence to the
 ' Treaty. The Inconstancy of his Promises, Non-
 ' performance of the League, and Forgetfulness of
 ' our many Favours and Assistance, we leave it to
 ' the righteous Judgment and Vengeance of Al-
 ' mighty God, upon whose powerful Assistance in
 ' our just Cause, we firmly rely : Protesting
 ' against the said King *Augustus* and his Subjects,
 ' and leave also to all the World to judge impar-
 ' tially of our faithful Performance of the League
 ' to the very last. Moreover, we are extremely
 ' surprized at three Articles in the aforesaid League,
 ' viz. the eleventh, twelfth, and twentieth, in
 ' which he, the said late King *Augustus*, promises to
 ' deliver up our publick Minister and Plenipoten-
 ' tiary, residing at his Court, into the Hands of our
 ' Enemies, in an unheard-of Manner, and to his
 ' utter Ruin, upon Pretence of his being a *Swedish*
 ' Deserter. Secondly, in the twelfth Article he
 ' maliciously obliges himself to deliver up to the
 ' Enemy, as Prisoners of War, the Remains of
 ' twelve Regiments, viz. one thousand six hundred
 ' Auxiliary Troops, who, for his Preservation, have
 ' often exposed their Lives, and were then sent by
 ' him as Auxiliaries into the Empire, which is not
 ' only contrary to divine and human Laws, but even
 ' to the Customs and Laws of Barbarians. Thirdly,
 ' in the twentieth Article he stipulates for himself,
 ' in Case of Peace between us and the Enemy, full
 ' Satisfaction : And afterwards he the said *Au-*
 ' *gustus*, in that Treaty obliges himself to procure
 ' your Royal Majesty's Guaranty. Therefore we,
 ' in a brotherly and friendly Manner, desire your
 ' Royal

' Royal Majesty, That, through your innate and
 ' wonted Goodness, you would be pleased not to
 ' consent thereunto, nor countenance his dishonour-
 ' able Actions. It would have been necessary we
 ' should, before this Time, have exhibited this our
 ' Protestation, both to your Royal Majesty, and
 ' other Potentates, in Writing, which we already
 ' would have performed by our Ministers, had we
 ' not been deluded, as we have made it appear, by
 ' the fresh Assurances he sent us by Major-General
 ' *Goltz*, who, among many other false Assurances
 ' of Friendship, engaged for the Performance of
 ' the League; and solemnly assured us, that our
 ' Ministers should never be delivered up; and that
 ' in case it should come to the last Extremity, King
 ' *Augustus* would either set him privately at Liber-
 ' ty, or detain him in *Konigstein*, till the Departure
 ' of the *Swedes*, and afterwards deliver him safe
 ' into our Hands: But we have since, with Won-
 ' der and bitter Grief, understood, That that Prince
 ' forgetting his Honour, has delivered up our in-
 ' nocent publick Minister, contrary to the Laws of
 ' Nations, and even Customs of Barbarians, and
 ' without the fear of God, into the Hands of his
 ' Enemy: For which Reason we have thought
 ' rather thought fit to acquaint your Majesty with
 ' all the Premises, and in a friendly and brotherly
 ' Manner, to desire that you would be pleased, by
 ' your good Offices, to procure the Liberty of our
 ' said Minister *Van Patkul*; or at least, that he
 ' may be used by the King of *Sweden* as our Mi-
 ' nister, and not as his Subject, which we are
 ' confident his *Swedish* Majesty will grant at your
 ' Royal Majesty's Desire, whereby he will gain
 ' with all the World, the Name of a magnanimous
 ' Monarch, instead of giving an Example of so
 ' wicked and barbarous an Action. But if, on the
 ' contrary, *Van Patkul* be hardly dealt with, and
 ' not used as our Minister, we shall be forced to
 ' seek Opportunities to return the like Usage, trust-
 ' ing that in our just Cause, we shall receive all

Assistance from the most High. We hope likewise by your Majesty's good Offices to obtain from the King of Sweden the Liberty of our general Officers and others our Subjects detained at *Stockholm*, and now under Arrest, viz. the same Number, and of the same Rank as were those that were permitted to go upon their Parole from our General Prince *Menzikoff*, namely his General, *Mardeveldt*, and other Officers and Solders by order of King *Augustus*, and on the Parole of the rest of *Swedish* Officers. The said *Augustus* having thus evidently before all the World violated his Vows, and the Laws of Nations, by his unheard-of dishonourable Proceedings, contrary to the Dictates of Conscience, as appears by those Treaties, we shall be obliged to do ourselves Justice, and seek for entire Satisfaction of him, as Elector of *Saxony*, and a Member of the *Roman* Empire, which our fair Proceedings and Steadfastness to the League, entitles us to; the rather because by the twentieth Article, contrary to his own Conscience, he proposes to seek for full Satisfaction from us. The remaining Part of our Auxiliary Troops now upon the *Rhine*, we put under your Royal Majesty's Protection, and desire that they may either enter into your Majesty's Service, or that of your Allies. Hoping you will favour us with your Concurrence and Assistance in these our just Desires, we, the Imperial Czarish Majesty, pray God to grant your Royal Majesty many Years Health and a happy Reign over your Majesty's Dominions.

Your Majesty's

Affectionate, loving Brother,

P E T E R.

Given at Zolkiew, April 27, 1707.
and in the twenty-fifth Year
of our Reign.

The

The Czar wrote in much the same Terms to the States-General of the united Provinces to dissuade them, if possible, from agreeing to the Guaranty of King *Augustus's* Treaty with *Charles XII.* But neither the Force of his Remonstrances, nor the Interests those States had in their Commerce with the Court of *Russia*, could make them forsake the common Cause of the Allies, which required that the King of *Sweden* should be prevailed on at any Rate to leave *Germany*.

By the foregoing Letter, and what has been related, it may be seen how much Reason the Czar had to complain of *Augustus* and the infamous Treaty of *Alt-Ransdadt*, which was very far from mending the Condition of that Prince's Affairs, as he himself complains in a Letter wrote sometime after to the States of *Holland*, wherein he says, *that the Peace which he had made, was so far from putting his Affairs in a better State, that he was reduced to the most deplorable Situation in the World.*

In *May*, the Assembly met at *Lublin*, and again by Adjournment in *June*; when, after many Debates, the Throne of *Poland* was declared vacant, and a Diet called, upon that, for a third Election. The Czar wrote a Letter to the Council, to exhort them to Unanimity and Dispatch. He urged very much the Necessity of chusing a new King, as the only Method to reconcile the divided Members of the Republick, and let all the World see, that they looked upon *Stanislaus* as Palatine of *Pesnanja*, and not as their King. He assured them again, that he would never hearken to any Peace, but in Conjunction with them; and that he had resolved to give Battle to the *Swedes*, having disposed every thing for it. He likewise told them that they ought not to neglect that Opportunity, and assured them, that he would be so far from following the Measures of the *Swedes*, that he would prescribe nothing to them, and would not concern himself directly or indirectly in their State Affairs, and had forbid his Troops to come within twenty Leagues of *Lublin*; and

and that he himself would not approach nearer, that his Enemies might not give out, that his Power had influenced their Election.

His Czarish Majesty wrote, at the same Time, another Letter to the Primate and chief Ministers of the Crown, wherein he adds to the Reasons alledged in his Letter to the Council, that he cannot take any solid Measure with the Republick, unless they chuse a new King; and that if they will not do it, he must needs suspect that they do not act sincerely with him.

After much canvassing, the *Interregnum* was published, by the Senators, in *July* following, and the Primate took upon him the Regency of the Republick: But in the mean Time King *Stanislaus* had got himself acknowledg'd by most of the Princes and States of *Europe*; and leaving *Charles XII.* in *Saxony*, came into *Poland* with General *Renschild*, at the Head of sixteen *Swedish* Regiments, and was own'd as their Sovereign through every Place that he passed.

The King of *Sweden* having now largely enriched his military Chest, with the Spoils of *Saxony*, and augmented his Army to the Number of fifty thousand, besides the Body of Troops under General *Lewenhaupt's* Command, and another under that of Major-General *Crassau*, sought all ways to bring the Czar to an Engagement; but *Peter*, seeing how largely he had increased his Forces, although he had before determined to give him Battle, thought it would be dangerous to run that Hazard in a Country without a Head, and divided by many Factions in itself. He had moreover just then been informed of Propositions made to the King of *Sweden* and *Stanislaus*, by the Minister of the *Porte*, who was sent by the Sultan to felicitate those Princes; and with an Offer to join with them in an offensive Alliance against *Russia*, that they might force his Czarish Majesty to interfere no longer in the Affairs of *Poland*. The Divan saw with Regret *Azoph* in the Hands of the Czar, and wanted
only

only a Pretext to break with him, that they might endeavour to recover that important Place. Besides this the King of *Sweden* openly declared, that he intended to make *Russia* the Theatre of the War, and did not doubt but he should find many Revolters among a People made uneasy by seeing Alterations made every Day in the Customs and Manners of their Fore-fathers; and who were continually burthened with fresh Taxes to support the Expence of a War from which they could foresee no Advantages.

The Czar, upon this Intelligence, thought it would be most adviseable for him to withdraw insensibly with his Army to *Lithuania*, on the Frontiers of *Russia*, where he appointed the Rendezvous of the several Parts of his Army: And by this Retreat *Stanislaus* was left in peaceable Possession of almost all *Poland*. From thence his Czarish Majesty went to *Moscow*, where his Presence was absolutely necessary, as well to give Orders for the Repairs to be made, on Account of a great Fire that had destroyed at least fifteen hundred Houses, as to check the Spirit of Faction that appeared there, by punishing in an exemplary Manner, those who were concerned in the late Tumult at *Astracan*, and whom he had ordered to be brought thither for that Purpose. He afterwards gave Orders to augment his Troops on the Borders of the Black-Sea, and on the Frontiers of *Tartary*, that he might destroy all hopes of Success from the Designs of the *Turks*, in threatening to declare War against him.

The Czar had not been at *Moscow* for two Years before, and was therefore received with all possible Demonstrations of Joy and Respect. He held several Councils, in which he gave many necessary Orders relating to Affairs in different Provinces, and had the Satisfaction to see the last Hand put to the Royal Dispensary, which was a superb Building, and one of the greatest Ornaments of the City of *Moscow*. It is situated on the East of the Castle: The Passage to it is through a large
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base Court, at the End of which is a great Stair-Cafe, that conducts to the first Apartment, which is vaulted, and very lofty ; it is fifteen Feet in Depth, and twenty in Breadth, curiously painted, and decorated with a great Number of Syrrup Pots and others, made of *China*, with his Czarish Majesty's Arms enamelled upon them. There are two Doors out of this Apartment, one of which leads to the Magazine of medicinal Herbs, the other to the Office of Accounts belonging to the House. There are also very beautiful Halls finely vaulted, particularly two, which entirely correspond in Structure, one of which serves for a Laboratory, and the other for a Library, wherein extraordinary Plants and Animals are likewise preserved. There are several other Apartments, particularly that of the President or Doctor, another which belongs to the chief Apothecary and his Domesticks. The Doctor has the Direction of the Accounts, and has several Officers under him. All the Physicians, Surgeons and Druggists, receive their Salleries in his Office. There are eight Apothecaries employed, and five Boys under them with above forty Workmen : And from hence the Drugs and Medicines are furnished for the Army and Fleet. Doctor *Areskine*, a *Scotchman*, chief Physician to the *Czar*, was the first Director of this House, with a yearly Pension of one thousand five hundred Ducats.

His Czarish Majesty likewise saw, with Pleasure, the Hospital for sick Persons finished. This Structure, built of Wood, is on the Banks of the River *Jonsa* in the *German Slaboda*. It is divided into two Parts, in each of which are seven Beds on one Side, and ten on the other ; each Bed being for two Persons, and there are nine in the middle Range for single Persons. There are three Stoves in each of these Divisions, and the Chamber appropriated to Anatomy is between them. The second Story contains several little Apartments, where the Physicians, Apothecary, and Surgeon of the Hospital lodge.

ldge. The Dispensary consists of three Chambers, two for the Medicines, and the third for the Herbs of which they are composed.

On the Side of this Hospital is a Manufactory of Cloth, which was at first put under the Direction of a Draper, who was sent for, by his Majesty, from *Holland*; and on the other Side the River *Moscua* was a Glass-House, for making large Looking-Glasses. Thus did his Majesty provide for the Honour and Welfare of his Subjects at Home, even while he was deeply engaged in Wars and Negotiations Abroad.

1708. His Czarish Majesty had but just celebrated the first Day of the new Year, when several Couriers one after another came to him from Prince *Menzikoff*, with Advice that the King of *Sweden*, taking Advantage of the Ice which made all the Rivers passable to him, was in Motion to re-enter *Lithuania*. The *Russian* Army till then was encamped in such a Manner, that the Body of Troops under the Command of General *Lexwenhaupt*, on the Side of *Livonia*, were shut up so as not to be able to advance or retreat; these also were in Motion to join the King. The Czar, whose Scheme was always to keep the Enemy as far out of his own Dominions as possible, made haste to *Grodno*, to dispute the Passage of the *Niemen* with the *Swedes*, since they could not be hindred from passing the *Vistula*, from whence *Charles XII.* with his Army, marched with much Speed towards *Lithuania*, in Spite of all the Obstacles he met in his Way: For he not only found the Country ruined by the *Russians*, who had taken Care to burn all they could not carry away with them; but he was even obliged to defend himself against the Peasants of the Country, who sheltering themselves in the Woods on all Sides, fired incessantly on all who came near them: And such was the Danger that Prince was exposed to, that two of his Guards, in passing by one of these Woods, had their Horses shot under them, within four Paces of the King himself.

himself. The Czar was in *Grodno* when the King of *Sweden*, with about six hundred Men, approach'd the Town. The *Muscovites*, taking this handful of Men to be the Vanguard of the *Swedish* Army, marched out at the North-Gate, while *Charles XII.* entered at the South; but the Czar learning the same Day by a *Polish* Deserter, to what a small Number of Men he had quitted the Town, and that the Body of the *Swedish* Troops were yet at five Leagues Distance, he lost no Time, but sent a Detachment of two thousand Men, to surprize the King that Evening in the Town: These two thousand Men, by the Favour of the Night, advanced as far as the first *Swedish* Guard, before they were seen; the Guard, consisting only of thirty Men, sustained the Effort of these two Thousand, till the Cuirassiers, and those in the Town who had submitted to *Stanislaus*, were put in a Posture to receive them; and being animated by the King of *Sweden*, they forced the *Russian* Detachment to retire, and lost one of the most favourable Opportunities they had ever before had; of making their own Conditions with the Enemy.

The Czar gave Orders to the several Bodies of his Troops, to rendezvous in the Palatinate of *Minski*, and seeing his Enemy in full March, and resolving to pursue him, he thought it proper to change his Scheme, and draw him into a Place where in all likelihood, he would want every Thing; where he would have neither Magazines nor Retreat, and where he might wait for him behind good Lines, to attack him with Advantage, when he was fatigued with a long and painful March, over a desolate Country. His Majesty therefore took his Rout to the *Borysbhenes*, with Design to intrench himself on the Banks of that River, between *Mehilow* and *Orsa*; and from whence he might have a secure Retreat to *Smolensko*.

The King of *Sweden*, informed of the Condition of the *Russian* Army, and the Rout they had taken,

undertook to intercept them in their March, by leaving the *Wilna*, and going some Leagues higher: But the Management of the Czar obliged him to change his Rout again, and confined him for some Time in the Palatinate of *Wilna*.

His Czarish Majesty sent General *Baur* to lay the *Polish Livonia* waste, from whence he went into *Swedish Livonia*, where he ravaged and pillaged every Place, after which he formed a large Magazine at *Szebitz*, and posted his Men along the *Duna*, of which he remained Master, notwithstanding the Neighbourhood of *Lewenhaupt*. General *Goltz* had Orders to go with fifteen thousand Men to *Vollinia*, to join twelve thousand *Volosques* and *Cossacks*, that they might take the *Swedes* in the Flank in their Motions; he had likewise Orders to the Inhabitants of that Province, to destroy the Country for thirty Miles round, as soon as the *Swedes* began to take that Rout, and to retreat beyond the *Boresthenes*, where his Czarish Majesty would give them other Lands to cultivate and inhabit.

These Measures were attended with good Success, for the *Swedes* were obliged to canton their Army, and encamp till the Month of *May*, for want of Forage and other Necessaries, besides which, altho' no Battle was fought, their Numbers were very much diminished, by their fatiguing Marches in a bad Season, and in a Country entirely ruined; the greatest Part of their Horse was lost: And, in a Word, in the whole Army of the Enemy there was nothing in good Order, but the Military Chest, which was so kept at the great Expence of the *Lithuanians*; so that the Czar by his good Conduct, obliged his Enemy a second Time, to change his Design. His Czarish Majesty pass'd the *Borysthenes* with his Army, which was considerably relieved and augmented in a Camp, where every Thing abounded. A Body of Troops encamped between *Witepsk* and *Kopis*, maintained the Communication with the Detachments, spread from one Side the Country to the other. His Majesty had been for

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some Time at *Poloczka*, from whence he resolved to go to *Petersburgh*, to hasten the Armament of his Fleet, which was designed to be very considerable; but falling ill at the very Instant he was setting out, he was forced to be transported to *Smolensko*, leaving the Directions of all the Operations to the Generals, *Czeremeteff*, *Menzikoff*, *Galliczin*, *Allard*, *Repnin*, and *Pflug*, who were at *Mohilow*.

One may judge of the Condition to which his Czarish Majesty had raised his Marine, since he had been in Possession of *Narva* and *Petersburgh*, by what happened on the Sea at this Time. The *Swedish* Fleet commanded by Admiral *Wachtmeester*, consisted of thirty-six Men of War, carrying from sixty-eight to thirty-two Guns a-piece, besides six Bomb-Vessels and five Fire-Ships, nevertheless they dared not venture upon an Action with that of the Czar, which remained so much Mistress of the *Baltick* Sea, the *Bothnick* Gulph, and that of *Finland*, that she made a Descent in *Finland*; the Town of *Borgo* in *Nyland* was taken, where all the old Men were put to the Sword, the Young ones were carry'd away, and the Town burnt to the Ground. *Biornoe* and some other Islands had the same Fate, and a great Number of Barks laden with Provisions for *Stockholm*, were taken and carry'd to *Petersburgh*.

As soon as the Czar began to recover, he was obliged to go to *Moscow* to appease a new Sedition among the *Don Cossacks*, raised by one of their Chiefs, named *Condraschka Bolawin*, who at the Head of five thousand Men, had form'd a Design of surprizing *Azoph*, and to secure Success, had demanded a supply from the *Porte*, and the *Cham* of *Tartary*, but they thinking the Enterprize ridiculous, would have no Hand in it. The Czar sent twenty thousand Men, under the Command of Prince *Dolgoriki*, to force the Rebels to Submission, but he was soon informed that some among the Rebels themselves, going about to take him, he had shot himself with a Pistol, and that they had carry'd

ry'd his Body to the Governor of *Azoph*, who had ordered his Head to be taken off, and his Quarters to be set up upon the four Gates of the City. This News saved the Czar a great Expence, and enabled him to employ his twenty thousand Men, under the Command of Prince *Dolgcruki* elsewhere.

The Nation in general was discontented with the long War, every Body murmured, and in all Places there appeared a Willingness to revolt. So that his Czarish Majesty was obliged to maintain those Troops in different Parts of the Country, which might otherwise have largely augmented his Army. After having put every Thing in Order, his Majesty returned to *Smolensko*, where he arriv'd just as an important Action had pass'd between a Body of his Troops, and the best Part of the King of *Sweden's* Army.

Charles XII. hearing that the Hettman *Mazepa* was on the March with five and twenty thousand Men, to join the *Russian* Army; that the great General *Sinianski* was also in Motion, and that another Body of between fifteen and twenty thousand *Russians* were moving from another Part, he march'd with Expedition, resolv'd to attack these different Bodies before they could join, or at least to get so between them, as to prevent their having any Communication. On the twenty-fifth of *June*, 1708, he found himself before the River *Berezine*, over against *Borislow*, where the *Russians* under the Command of General *Goltz*, to the Number of between twelve and fifteen thousand, were encamp'd to dispute that Passage with him; which however he succeeded in, by one of those Feints which were so usual with him. He sent Colonel *Guillenkron*, with two thousand Men, to be posted on the Banks of the *Berezine*, directly against *Borislow*, as if he intended to attempt passing the River in Sight of the Enemy; but led his Army, at the same Time, about three Leagues up the River, and throwing a Bridge over it, made his Way through a Body of three Thousand Men, who defended that Post, and

and marched directly towards the Enemy without stopping. The *Muscovites*, did not wait for his coming up, but decamped and retreated towards the *Borysthene*s, laying all the Country waste wherever they came.

The King of *Sweden*, surmounting all Difficulties, arrived in the Neighbourhood of *Holowzin*, a Town situated on the River *Wabitz*, which the *Muscovites* abandoned; and having broke the Bridge after them, joined a Body of their Troops incamped on the other Side that River. They had a Wood in their Rear, and their Intrenchments were defended by several Pieces of Cannon. There was a large Ditch behind them, and the River was difficult to pass, the Banks being not firm Ground on Account of their running through a Morass. The King of *Sweden* in Person viewed the Ground, above and below *Holowzin*, and caused his Artillery to March, with great Privacy, in the Night; a Quarter of a League on the Right, where he had observed a Post, from whence they might fire into the *Russian* Intrenchments on their Left, and that there was a pretty large opening between their Right and Left; their Generals thinking that Place unpassable, because of a Morass that extended to a very thick Wood, the *Muscovites* had assembled in that Camp their main Army, and their Troops were so disposed, that General *Renne* had under him, on the Right, six Regiments of Dragoons with four of Foot, and General *Pflug*, with five Regiments of Horse, and nine of Foot, was posted behind him. The *Velt-Mareschal*, Lieutenant *Goltz*, was posted on the Left, which Wing the *Russians* attack'd with ten Regiments of Dragoons, and four thousand *Calmucks*; General *Repin*, with nine Regiments of Foot, was on the same Wing; and the Prince of *Hesse Darmstadt* was posted behind him, with three Regiments of Dragoons; several other Regiments were likewise daily expected in their Camp, from whence Prince *Menzikoff* went away the Day

before the Battle to hasten their March. The King of *Sweden* came at three in the Morning to the Banks of the River, with his Regiment of Guards and four other, and soon after Part of the Cavalry, viz. the Life-Guards, the King's Regiment of Dragoons, and those of *Smoland* and *Ostrogotland* came up; and then began to cannonade the *Russian* Camp with so much Success, that notwithstanding their great Fire they made on their Part, such of their Battalions as were most exposed, were obliged to quit their Post; whereupon the King, not having Patience to stay any longer for the *Pontons*, which were retarded in their March by the bad Weather, encouraged his Troops to follow him, and flung himself into the River, which he passed, the Water being up to his Arm-Pits. He was followed with all imaginable Courage and Zeal by the Soldiers, who carried their Arms over their Heads, to keep them from being wet; but the Ground on the other Side being Marshy, it was impossible for them to keep their Ranks. In the mean Time the *Muscovites* turned all their Cannon against them, but in Spite of their Fire, and the Difficulty of the Ground, the *Swedes* got over the Morass, and posted themselves in the Interval between the two Wings of the *Muscovite* Army, whereby they could not assist each other. This obliged General *Goltz*, to withdraw his Infantry from their Camp, and post it at the Entrance into the Wood; but the King of *Sweden* followed him without any Loss of Time, with his Regiment of Guards, ordering the Rest of the Troops to join him, as they should pass the Morass, and attacked the Enemy between four or five in the Morning, only with his Guards. The Fire was so terrible, that some Officers who had been in several Battles, declared that they had never seen the like.

The King of *Sweden*, was on Horse-back in the Beginning of this Action, but Captain *Gyllenstiern*, a young *Swede*, whom he had a great Esteem for, being wounded and not able to March

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the King gave him his own Horſe, and fought during the Reſt of the Action on Foot, at the Head of his Guards, expoſing his Perſon to the greateſt Danger. The Engagement laſted four Hours with great Slaughter, and great Bravery ſhewn on both Sides: But the *Muscovites* were at laſt obliged to retire, and leave the King of *Sweden* Maſter of the Field of Battle, and of ſeveral Pieces of Cannon that were too heavy to be carried readily through the Morafs. This is ſaid to be the moſt glorious Battle the King of *Sweden* had ever fought, and that wherein he ſhewed the greateſt Skill, and was expoſed to the greateſt Dangers. He forced the *Muscovites* to repaſs the *Boryſthenes*, which divides *Poland* from their own Country, and ſtaid himſelf ſometime about *Mobilow*, the laſt Town in *Poland*, as well to reſreſh his Army after a long and fatiguing March, followed by ſo ſharp an Engagement, as to conſult what Meaſures were to be taken in an Enemy's Country, unknown to him, into which he was juſt upon entering, with a Deſign to purſue the *Muscovites* even to their Capital.

The *Czar*, as hath been taken Notice of before, arrived in his Army two Days after this Action, and quitted it no more, as will be ſeen by what follows, till he had entirely defeated the King of *Sweden*, who, now finding his Army much weakened, ſent Orders to General *Leuvenhaupt*, in *Courland*, to come and join him with all the Troops he could get together, and all the Ammunition he could find. This General accordingly aſſembling all his Troops, and drawing the Garrifons out of all the Towns, made up, at his Departure out of *Courland*, a Body of twenty thouſand Men, conſiſting of three Regiments of Horſe, ſix of Dragoons, and eleven of Infantry; which were followed by ſeven thouſand Waggon, laden with Ammunition and Proviſions for the *Swediſh* Army for three Months. The General made great Expedition, and arrived as ſoon as poſſible, but was much harraſſed in his March by General *Baur*, who was in

Livonia with five or six thousand Men, and took some of his Waggon and many Prisoners from him, besides Deserters.

The King of *Sweden*, impatient that these Succours did not come up so soon as he would have had them, and every thing being so much consumed in the Palatinate of *Meislaw*, that a Bushel of Wheat was sold for ten Rix-Dollars, resolved to pass the *Borysthene*s, and it may be said, to run Headlong upon his own Ruin. It was here the Czar waited for him, and was not ill pleased to see his Enemy on that Side the River, in a Country where he was neither to hope for Succours, or a safe Retreat. He began now to make War in a different Manner from what he had done before; he judged it not adviseable in his own Country to come to a general Engagement with him, in which if he had been unsuccessful, he must have given his Enemy an Entrance, into the very Bosom of his Dominions: He resolved therefore to make War like the *Cossacks*, that is, by dividing his Troops into many Bodies, attacking him every where, and every where retreating and wasting the Country where the Enemy designed to pursue him, that he might deprive him of all Means of subsisting. It was thus the *Russians* continually harrassed the *Swedish* Army, between the *Borysthene*s, the *Sessa* and the *Czarnanabata*; oftentimes coming to Blows with him, and oftentimes with Advantage. At the Passage of this last River, there was a Rencounter, sharp and bloody, between the Troops commanded by Prince *Galliczin*, and six of the finest and best Regiments of the *Swedish* Army, under the Command of Major-General *Roozen*.

The King of *Sweden* had detached him with these Troops, to be posted on the Banks of that River, at a Place covered with a large Morass, where the King designed to attempt the Passage. The Czar being informed of this in Time, order'd Prince *Galliczin* to March with eight Battalions, and three Squadrons of Prince *Menzikoff*'s Horse-Guards, but the

the Ways were so bad, that the Latter were forced to follow the Infantry on Foot, and although the Morass was covered with Fascines, yet the Soldiers were oftentimes so plunged, that it was not with Ease that they could draw themselves out again. Prince *Galliczin* surmounting this Difficulty, arrived at the Banks of the River, behind which the Enemy had posted themselves to advantage. He passed the River, being favoured by a thick Fog, that prevented their being discovered by the Enemy, till they were just upon them. They kept firm, and the Skirmish was sharp on both Sides, till the Fog being dissipated shew'd the *Swedes* the Loss they had sustained, and that they were environed on all Sides, which obliged them to retreat fighting; the *Russians* following, took from them six Colours and two Standards. The Czar was so well satisfy'd with what Prince *Galliczin* had done, that he gave him at that Time the Order of St. *Andrew*. The *Russians* had about six Hundred Men killed, and a Thousand wounded, but the Enemy lost a far greater Number. This Action was the more advantageous to the Czar, as the Enemy had some of their best Regiments defeated, and as, in the Situation they were, the least Loss could not but be very considerable to them. When the other *Swedish* Troops saw these Regiments, which were looked upon as the best in their Army, return in such Disorder, they began to think they were not invincible, as they had before imagined; and that they themselves had learnt the the *Russians* the Art of War to their own Cost.

A few Days after, the *Cossacks* and *Russian Calmucks*, supported by seven-thousand Dragoons, fell upon the Baggage of the left Wing of the *Swedes*, over which they obtained some slight Advantage: Two *Aides de Camp* were killed, fighting near the King's Person, and he himself had a Horse shot under him; and while one of his Equeries was presenting him with another, both the Equery and the Horse were shot on the Spot. Many of his

Officers who came to his Relief, were killed or taken Prisoners, and only five left near him, when fighting on Foot, and half spent with Fatigue, and the Slaughter he had made with his own Hands, he was disengaged from the Numbers that fell upon him, by Colonel *Dardoff*, who broke through the *Calmucks* to rescue him. Maugre all these Obstacles, *Charles XII.* advanced almost as far as *Smolensko*, lying in the great Road to the Capital of *Muscovy*, where he hoped to meet with as many Adherents, and as much Provision as in *Poland*; but being deceived in these, he found his Design, at present, impracticable of marching directly to *Moscow*, as he intended, and thought at first no Difficulty to perform, as may be supposed by the Answer he sent to the Czar, who, to prevent his Country's being made the Seat of War, that Country for the Improvement and Glory of which he had done such Wonders, had before this, sent Proposals of Peace to *Charles*, by a *Pollish* Gentleman, and received this haughty Answer; *That he would treat with his Brother Peter at Moscow.*

Finding, I say, more Difficulty in this Undertaking than he imagined, he turned, on a sudden, towards the *Ukrain*, where he thought he should be able to support his Troops by the Assistance of *Mazeppa*, Hettman of the *Cossacks*, who had entered into a private Treaty with him, and designed to revolt from the Czar, to revenge himself on him for an Affront he put upon him at his Table, for having opposed a Proposal made by his Czarish Majesty, to bring the *Cossacks* under more Subjection; but *Mazeppa* telling him, a Project of that Kind could not possibly be executed, he threw himself into such a Passion, that he called him Traitor, and threaten'd to have him impaled alive: *Mazeppa* resented this so strongly, that he engaged himself with the King of *Sweden*, and was to have brought over thirty thousand Men to him. *Bisniski*, the Hettman's Favourite, was at
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this Time with the King of Sweden, and had assured him that the People of the *Ukrain*, were so much discontented with the Czar, that they would readily afford any Assistance to oppose him, and would look upon him as their Deliverer if he would help them to shake off his Yoke.

In the mean Time the Czar, who knew nothing of this intended Revolt of the Hettman *Matzeppa*, was informed that the King of Sweden had left a Body of his Forces under the Command of General *Crassau* with *Stanislaus* in Poland, to reduce the whole Kingdom to his Obedience; and had order'd, as is before said, *Leuvenhaupt* to leave *Livonia* and *Courland*, and join his own Army with a very considerable Number of Forces. His Czarish Majesty thought it absolutely necessary to prevent this Conjunction, if possible, and believing that *Leuvenhaupt's* Troops were not above eight or nine thousand Men, he put himself at the Head of his Guards, consisting of seven thousand Men, whom, for the greater Expedition, he caused to mount on Horseback, and with some Regiments of Dragoons marched in Person to meet him. The Velt-Mareschal *Czeremetoff*, and the rest of the Generals were ordered to *Ukrania*, to obstruct the Progress of the King of Sweden, and hinder him from penetrating any farther into that Country; but not to hazard a Battle, before the Czar himself should come to join them with the Forces he had with him.

Leuvenhaupt had now passed the *Borysbhenes*, and was continuing his March about three Leagues beyond *Mobilow*, whither his Czarish Majesty went with Prince *Menzikoff* and General *Goltz*, and came to an Action with him on the 7th of October, in which one thousand five hundred *Muscovites* were killed, and very few of the *Swedes*. The latter would in all Appearance, have gained a complete Victory, had it not been for the Presence of the Czar, who, when he saw his Troops begin to fall back, ran to the *Cossacks* and *Calmucks*, posted in
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the Rear of the Army, and ordered them to fire on all those, who should offer to run away, and not to spare even his own Person, if he should be so cowardly. In this Manner above fifty *Muscovites* were killed, and by this Means he stop'd his Army, which was already in great Confusion. General *Lenzenhaupt*, seeing the *Muscovites*, who were repulsed and broken, begin to rally, thought fit to continue his March to join the King according to his Orders: But this was of too much Consequence to the Czar to be suffered, if it were possible to prevent it.

The next Day his Czarish Majesty had again Sight of the Enemy, on the Banks of the little River *Pronia*; and the Enemy made as if they would oppose his Passage, but no sooner were seven Field-Pieces brought up to cannonade them, than they struck off towards the Village of *Lezno*.

Towards the Evening, the Czar gave Orders to his Army, to hold themselves ready to march the next Day to attack the Enemy. About four in the Morning the Army began to march, and about nine, at some Distance from *Lezno*, met the Enemy, who had sent some Parties before for Intelligence.

Lenzenhaupt was no sooner informed of the March and Approach of the *Russians*, than he drew up his Army in Order of Battle, and made all possible Dispositions to give them a good Reception. To that End he caused two Battalions to advance one thousand Paces before his Camp, to dispute their Passage through a small Morass, by which they were obliged to come at him.

Upon this, his Czarish Majesty gave Order to his Highness Prince *Menzikoff*, to command Colonel *Cambel*, who had the Van-Guard, to cause his Regiments of Dragoons to dismount and attack the Enemy's two Battalions, who made so quick Fire upon the *Russians*, that they had hardly Time to form themselves into Order of Battle. Colonel *Cambel* observing how active the Enemy were, caused

caused five Squadrons, who had dismounted, to advance, to give Opportunity to the rest of his Troops to put themselves into a Posture to follow them, and these dismounted Dragoons having stood the Enemy's Fire for some Time, his Czarish Majesty caused them to be supported by four Battalions of his Guards and two of *Ingria*, who pouring in their Shot upon the two forementioned Battalions, killed above half of them, gained the Passage, and so facilitated the *Muscovites* drawing up in Battalia before the Enemy's Front.

General *Leuvenhaupt* perceiving his Van-Guard was beaten, resolved to prevent the *Russians*, and caused his Army to move up to meet them in Battalia. Then his Czarish Majesty, observing that the Enemy's Line extended wider than his, ordered his Highness Prince *Menzikoff* to cause four Regiments of Dragoons to alight, and they were immediately placed on their left Wing, with two Regiments of Horse to cover their Flank, under the Command of General *Pflug*, and their Right was commanded by the Princes *Galiczin* and *Darmstadt*, whose Flank was covered by two Regiments of Dragoons of his Highness Prince *Menzikoff's* Guards; all these Dispositions being made by about eleven a Clock, the Signal for attacking the Enemy was given by a general Discharge of all the Artillery: The Enemy began to advance towards them with great Fierceness and Resolution; and the Fight being hot and obstinate on both Sides for above an Hour and a Half, the Victory hung in Suspence.

During the terrible Fire which was made every where his Czarish Majesty appeared in the Places of most Danger, to animate, by his Valour and Presence, all the Officers and Soldiers; and observing that the Left suffered much, he caused it to be reinforced by Prince *Menzikoff's* Regiment of Guards.

The Enemy observing how well the *Muscovites* acquitted themselves under the Eye of their Monarch, begun to give Ground, yet drew off in Order of Battle.

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Then the *Muscovites* redoubled their Efforts, to improve that Advantage: The Enemy being driven back to their Waggon and Baggage, Action was for some time forborn on both Sides. About three a Clock the Cannon of the *Russians* coming up they began to play again.

Things standing thus, his Czarish Majesty being informed that General *Baur* was within half a League of him, with four thousand Men, thought fit to wait a little for his Arrival.

About four a Clock General *Baur* came up with his Body, and was obliged to endure the Fire of the Enemy's Artillery before he could join the Right, where he was to post himself. From this Junction his Czarish Majesty began to entertain Hopes that all would end well; and order'd that neither the Right nor the Left should renew the Fight one without the other: But the left Wing having stood a good while without attacking, the Impatience of all the Officers and Soldiers superseded that Order. The right Wing renewed the Attack likewise with the utmost Vigour.

The Enemy seeing themselves repulsed, caused two Battalions and ten Squadrons of their Reserve to advance and charge the Right of the *Russians* in Flank; but they were so well received, and afterwards so closely pursued, that, of the two Battalions, not above fifty Men escaped. Upon this Advantage, the Left and the Centre pushed forwards amongst the Enemy's Waggon, breaking all their left Wing. On their Right *Leuvenhaupt*, rallying his Troop, faced the *Muscovites* who were among their Waggon, and caused such a Fire to be made on their Battalions and Squadrons, as obliged them to retire, but the Centre and left Wing advanced at the same Time against the Enemy, who were obliged to face to the Right about, to make Head against them. The Charge was renewed with greater Fury than before, both by the Horse and Foot, and their Fire, which the Enemy answered duly, did not cease till it was dark Night, when the *Muscovites*

vites could no longer distinguish their own Men from their Enemies.

In the Night his Czarish Majesty, considering the Difficulty of dislodging the Enemy from behind their Waggons, forbid the Officers on Pain of being cashier'd, and the Soldiers of being hanged, to quit their Ranks to rifle the Dead: So the Army kept all Night under Arms, watching the Enemy. In the mean Time the Trophies of the Day were presented to his Majesty, consisting of forty-seven Colours and ten Standards; and sixteen Cannons which they had gain'd, were added to their Train of Artillery.

Thus they passed the Night, which was very cold; and towards the Morning they saw the Enemy kindle Fires about their Waggons. His Czarish Majesty ordered that Fires should be made in the Front of his right Line, and that his Men should hold themselves in a Readiness against Day-break: Which being come they marched towards the Enemy's Waggons, expecting to meet no less Resistance than before: But they found that *Lenwenhaupt* had made use of that Stratagem to cover his Flight, abandoning all his Wounded to the Discretion of the *Muscovites*, as well as the seven thousand Waggons, well stored with Provisions.

General *Pflug* was immediately ordered with one thousand Grenadiers on Horseback, and two thousand Dragoons, to pursue and harraß the flying Enemy. He had not march'd above half a League, when he found the Remains of the Enemy in a Wood; and falling upon them, he made a Slaughter among them for the Space of a League and half, to *Propousk*; where the rest of the Runaways, to the Number of three thousand retired into the Church-yard.

The General advancing to force them, they made a Signal that they were desirous to capitulate; and he sent a Lieutenant-Colonel with six Grenadiers to receive their Offers of Capitulation: But most of the *Swedish* Soldiers being drunk with Brandy would
not

not agree to their Officers Propositions, and many of them firing kill'd two of the *Russian* Grenadiers. The Lieutenant-Colonel, seeing their Hardiness, retir'd, and General *Pflug* resolv'd not to spare them; the *Muscovite* Grenadiers and Dragoons enter'd the Church-Yard, and, Sword in Hand, killed all that resisted. During this Execution, Part of them fled towards the River *Soxa*. General *Mikisch* pursued that Party two Hours, and saw Count *Lewenhaupt* swimming through that River among his Men; whereupon he swam it with his Detachment, and coming to the other Side, most of the *Swedish* Officers begg'd Mercy, and he gave them Quarter, but caus'd the Soldiers to be put to the Sword, and then rejoined General *Pflug* with all the Officers and Booty.

Lewenhaupt pass'd the *Soxa*, and fled with about four thousand Men, all that were saved from the Wreck of the Day. General *Renchild*, met him with eight thousand Dragoons, and had just joined him when General *Touwerden*, sent by Prince *Menzikoff* to pursue him, had fallen upon his Rear-Guard, who made Head against him, and oblig'd him to retire. The King of *Sweden* was then at *Starodub* on the *Dezna*. His Czarish Majesty, after returning Thanks to Heaven for so complete a Victory, gave Orders to re-establish those Regiments which had suffer'd the most, especially those of *Preobrazinsky* and *Semionowski*, and repos'd himself for some Time at *Zizirt*, leaving to the Velt-Mareschals *Czeremetoff*, and *Menzikoff* the Command of his great Army.

The King of *Sweden* had nothing left now but to join *Mazeppa*: I have before acquainted the Reader with the Reason of that *Cossack's* being resolv'd to desert the Czar; on the other Hand he was charmed with the many great Actions of *Charles XII.* whom he look'd upon as another *Alexander*; and though, by preserving his Faith to the Czar, he might have shar'd in the Glory of conquering him, yet that Consideration was of little Value when weigh'd against his Revenge for the Affront given him by

Peter,

Peter, and his Ambition of becoming the real Sovereign of his Country. To bring the whole Nation, that is the Army, into his Design, he began with exaggerating all that they suffered from the *Russian* Ministers, who treated them as Slaves, he praised their own Actions and Magnanimity, and endeavoured to shew them the Happiness of a free and independant Government; and lastly told them what they might expect from that glorious young Hero, who was coming to deliver them from the insupportable Burthen they groaned under.

To give some Appearance of Justice to their Revolt, they agreed to send Remonstrances to the Czar against his Ministers; and for the Execution of this dangerous Commission, they named *Warnarowski* the Hettman's Nephew. The Czar by this Time, by intercepted Letters and other Ways, was informed of the Conduct of *Mazeppa*; he knew also that his Favourite *Bisnizky* was with the King of Sweden. At another Time, upon such Information, the Czar would have seized on *Mazeppa*, in order to punish him for his Infidelity and Treason; but, in the present State of Affairs, he judged it more proper to disguise his Resentment, contenting himself to watch the *Cossacks* by the Army of Prince *Menzikoff*, who, without sending for the Hettman to him, to give him any Suspicion, posted himself advantageously between his Army and that of the Swedes: But when the Czar saw *Warnarowsky*, he could no longer bridle his just Anger, but instead of giving him Audience had him clapt up in Prison, from whence he had soon after the good Fortune to escape.

Mazeppa, informed of what had happened to his Nephew, doubted no longer that all his Intrigues were discovered; and therefore, to save his Head, used his utmost Endeavours to join the Swedish Army. As the Velt-Mareschal *Gzeremetoff* was in *Novogorod* with a very strong Garrison, the King of Sweden found it no easy Matter to pass the *Dezna*, and *Mazeppa*, who thought all depended upon his deliver-

delivering up to him *Batturin*, his Capital, the impatient *Hettman* made haste to cross that River, under Pretence of attacking a Body of *Swedes* that were on the opposite Banks; as soon as he was over, he discovered to the Soldiers his Design, to which the Officers as yet were only Privy; his Men on the Instant protested against any such Project, and retired, nay some of them deliberated whether they ought not to arrest their General, so that he had only Time, with about two thousand Men, that remained faithful to him, to throw himself into the *Swedish* Camp at *Sezeptaki*. Two of his Colonels had entered *Batturin*, with some thousand Men to deliver up that City to the King of *Sweden*; the rest of the *Cossacks* went over to the Army of Prince *Menzikoff*, who immediately made himself Master of *Batturin*, which, in Resentment of *Mazeppa's* Treachery, was ordered to be burnt to the Ground.

A Council of War being convoked, they passed Sentence on the *Hettman*, which his Czarish Majesty ordered to be put in Execution in the Presence of Prince *Menzikoff*, General of the Army, and Count *Golofkin*, both Knights of the Order of St. *Andrew*. A Herald tore the Patent of Knighthood of the said *Mazeppa*, and threw the Pieces on the Ground; took from off a wooden Statue, made for the Occasion, the blue Ribbon and Medal of the Order, and then threw down the Statue. The Hangman came next, ty'd a Halter about the Neck of the Statue, and dragg'd it to the Place of Execution; where the Sentence against him for Treason against his Sovereign, his Country and his Nation, was read aloud; and he thereby declared to be fallen from his Honours, Titles and Dignities, and to be condemned to be hanged. The Hangman tore in Pieces the Arms of his Family, broke his Scimiter, and hung the Statue on a Gibbet, a great Multitude of People attending. This done, the principal Men of the *Cossacks* repaired to the great Church; and after divine Service they assembled in the Church-yard, and proceeded to the Election of a new General,

neral, or *Hettman*, which fell upon *John Skoropatsky*, who was declared with the Acclamations of the Assembly; and a tripple Discharge of the Artillery and Musquets was made by the *Cossacks*, who were drawn up in Order. The new General, accompanied by a great Number of Officers, went immediately and prostrated himself at the Feet of his Czarish Majesty, who confirmed his Election.

About this Time an Affair happened in *London*, which had like to have created a Misunderstanding between his Czarish Majesty and the Queen of *Great-Britain*, on Account of his Ambassador's being arrested in the Street by one *Morton*, a Lace-man in *Covent-Garden*, and other Tradesmen, who had a Jealousy of his designing to leave the Kingdom without paying the Debts he had contracted here. This Affair will be shewn in a clear Light by the following Letters.

M. de MATUEOF, *Ambassador of the Czar of Muscovy*,
to Mr. Secretary Boyle.

London, the 22d of July 1708, O. S.

Sir,

' HAVING observed (ever since I had the
' Honour of being Ambassador Extraordinary
' of his Czarish Majesty, the Emperor of *Great-*
' *Russia*, at the Court of the Queen of *Great-Bri-*
' *tain*) the sincere and particular Affection which her
' Majesty had shew'd to my Master, and her earnest
' Desire of maintaining a good Correspondence be-
' tween the two Crowns of *Great-Russia* and *Great-*
' *Britain*, also the Queen's Zeal for Justice, so well
' known throughout the Universe; and lastly the
' singular Favour and Benevolence her Majesty has
' been pleased to confer on me: I have all the Rea-
' son in the World to hope, that she will vouch-
' safe to give me a Satisfaction proportionable to the
' unparallel'd Affront, which was put upon me Yest-
' erday in the Evening, in the Street call'd *Charles-*
' *Street*.

' The

‘ The Matter of Fact speaks of itself ; and I shall
 ‘ only say, in short, that the Bailiff of that City had
 ‘ the Rashness to arrest me in my Coach, and to
 ‘ carry me Prisoner to the *Black-Raven*, a scandalous
 ‘ House, without notifying to me the Reason ; and
 ‘ to abuse me, by thrusting himself into my Coach
 ‘ and seizing on my Person, after having taken away
 ‘ my Sword, Hat and Cane, as it were from a
 ‘ Malefactor ; not only, contrary to the Law of
 ‘ Nations, but even the Right of all private Per-
 ‘ sons. The Immunity of Ambassadors, and their
 ‘ sacred Privileges, are sufficiently known ; and as
 ‘ for the rest, if the Pretence of Debts be alledg’d,
 ‘ it is impudently done ; for I have appointed this
 ‘ very Day for the Time of Payment, and I am
 ‘ so far from going away without discharging them,
 ‘ that I have not as yet received any Letter of Cre-
 ‘ dence, nor Pass-port, nor other Things necessary
 ‘ for my Departure ; so that this Snare has been
 ‘ laid for me purely with a Design to insult the
 ‘ Honour of his Czarish Majesty, in the Person of
 ‘ his Representative. Therefore, I solemnly pro-
 ‘ test against this Violence offer’d to the Law of
 ‘ the Nations, and demand that all those who are
 ‘ guilty of it be severely punish’d.

‘ The Queen, who is so jealous of the Respect
 ‘ due to the Ambassadors of crown’d Heads, and
 ‘ has so gloriously vindicated the Honour of the
 ‘ Earl of *Manchester*, her Ambassador at *Venice*, and
 ‘ caus’d a rigorous Punishment to be inflict’d on
 ‘ the Officers of the Custom-house, some of whom
 ‘ were set in the Pillory, and others condemn’d to
 ‘ the Gallies, only for insulting the Gentlemen of
 ‘ his Retinue, cannot but most justly revenge the
 ‘ Affront lately put upon me, by a Corporal Pu-
 ‘ nishment.

‘ Count *Zobor*, who was deliver’d up to the Dis-
 ‘ cretion of the King of *Sweden* for picking a Quar-
 ‘ rel with his Envoy, likewise affords an Instance of
 ‘ the Satisfaction I require ; as being desirous of
 ‘ nothing

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‘ nothing with greater Earnestness, than to avoid
‘ all the ill Consequences of this Affair : For in
‘ Case the Criminals are conniv’d at, under any
‘ Colour whatsoever, I shall be obliged to take
‘ other Measures, and retire without Re-credentials;
‘ leaving the whole Matter to the Management of
‘ his Czarish Majesty, my Master, as the Protector
‘ of his injur’d Honour, and of his abused Minister.

Sir, I am, &c.

Sign’d, *A. de Matueof.*

London, July 26, 1708, O. S.

Sir,

‘ **F**Orasmuch as I have not received any Testi-
‘ mony of Concern or Regret, neither on the
‘ Part of the Queen’s Majesty, nor from any of her
‘ Ministers, since *Thursday* last the twenty-second
‘ Instant, when I sent to you, in Writing, my
‘ Complaints about the wicked Attempt made upon
‘ my Character ; and in regard that no Resentment
‘ has been in any wise shew’d, upon Occasion of
‘ the Indignity which the Honour of his Czarish
‘ Majesty, my Master, has suffer’d after an unheard-
‘ of Manner : I find myself obliged more than ever
‘ to press for my Departure ; and you cannot take it
‘ ill, that I entreat you to get a Pass-port for me
‘ as soon as possible, and without Delay, to the
‘ End, that I may forthwith go out of this Kingdom.

I am Sir, &c.

Signed, *A. de Matueof.*

A

*A Copy of the Answer to the former, from Whitehall the
27th of July, 1708.*

Sir,

‘ **A** Ccordingly as I had the Honour to tell your
 ‘ Excellency the first Time I was with you,
 ‘ after the great Affront that was put upon you ;
 ‘ I have used my utmost Endeavours, with all the
 ‘ Zeal I profess for your Excellency’s Person and
 ‘ Character, to find out the most effectual Means
 ‘ for causing a due Reparation to be made. As
 ‘ soon as I arrived at *Windsor*, I informed the Queen
 ‘ of the Outrage committed against your Excellen-
 ‘ cy, and her Majesty ordered me to assure you, that
 ‘ she is extreamly concerned upon Account of that
 ‘ enormous Proceedure, and highly displeased with
 ‘ her Subjects who were the Authors of it. And
 ‘ forasmuch as the Queen has all the Respect ima-
 ‘ ginable for his Czarish Majesty, whose Friendship
 ‘ and good Correspondence have been at all Times,
 ‘ and ever will be, most dear and precious to her,
 ‘ and in regard that she has a very particular Esteem
 ‘ for your Excellency’s Person and Merit, she will
 ‘ omit nothing that lies in her Power, to give an
 ‘ ample Satisfaction for the extraordinary Affront
 ‘ which has been put upon your Excellency, and
 ‘ to shew her own Resentments. On *Sunday* last an
 ‘ extraordinary Assembly of her Majesty’s Privy
 ‘ Council was call’d at *Windsor*, and seven of the
 ‘ principal Accomplices in that desperate Attempt,
 ‘ were taken up and committed to Prison ; and the
 ‘ Council is to meet again about that Affair, as
 ‘ soon as possible, which will be on *Thursday* next,
 ‘ to treat, in the same Manner, the rest who shall
 ‘ be found guilty of that insolent Presumption :
 ‘ And further, the Queen has ordered her Attor-
 ‘ ney-General to draw up an Indictment against
 ‘ all those Persons ; to the End, that they may be
 ‘ punished after the most severe and rigorous Man-
 ‘ ner

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' ner that can be, according to the Laws of this
' Realm: And I am very sorry that your Excel-
' lency expresses so much Earnestness to depart;
' since every one would be glad that you would
' stay, to see with what Strictness Endeavours will
' be used to give you Satisfaction.

' As for my Part, I am extreamly troubled that
' the Occasion is so sad, and the Subject so disagree-
' able, upon which I profess myself devoted to your
' Service: But as I always took great Delight when
' I was otherwise employed, so your Excellency
' will permit me, even on this unfortunate Ac-
' count, to declare how much I am concerned for
' your Interest, and with what Affection and Esteem
' I am your, &c.

Signed, *H. Boyle.*

*To his Excellency M. de Matueof,
Ambassador Extraordinary of his
Czarish Majesty.*

London, this 27th of July, 1708, O. S.

Sir,

' **P**URsuant to your Word, which I obtain'd this
' Day, I waited from Noon 'till half an Hour
' after three a Clock for the Resolution in Writing,
' about the solemn Complaints I brought to you
' the twenty-second Instant: But forasmuch as the
' Business very much resembles so many former
' Promises, which prov'd ineffectual in other Af-
' fairs; I shall leave it to your Discretion, and only
' intreat you to send me a Pass-port for myself and
' Family. Sir, I expect at least this Favour from
' your kind Disposition; who am, &c.

Signed, *A. de Matueof.*

*To Monsieur Boyle, Minister and
Secretary of State to her Majesty
the Queen of Great-Britain.*

*A Copy of the Answer to the last Letter, from Whitehall,
the 29th of July, 17c8, O. S.*

Sir,

‘ I Have sent to your Excellency this Morning
‘ the Pass-port you desire: And as for the Or-
‘ ders concerning your Moveables, having writ
‘ about them some Time ago, I have since got fur-
‘ ther Information in the Treachery; where they
‘ assure me, that the Orders are issued out, and
‘ that the Officers of the Custom-House are to wait
‘ on your Excellency this Morning, to cause the
‘ Equipages to be transported without any Mo-
‘ lestation, and I hope they have already done it
‘ to your Excellency’s Satisfaction.

‘ I also give myself the Honour to notify to your
‘ Excellency, that an extraordinary Meeting of the
‘ Lords of the Queen’s Privy-Council is to be held
‘ this Day at Noon, to enquire farther into the
‘ Circumstances of that dismal Affair: They have
‘ made a strict Search after those who were in any
‘ wise concerned therein, and have caused ten others
‘ to be apprehended; so that there are at present
‘ seventeen Persons confin’d in Prison, for being
‘ concerned in that enormous Action against your
‘ Excellency. And further, express Orders have
‘ been given again to the Attorney-General, to pro-
‘ secute them with the utmost Rigour, and to omit
‘ nothing that may contribute towards the making
‘ to your Excellency the most signal Reparation
‘ that can be according to our Laws.

‘ I have already had the Honour to assure your
‘ Excellency of the Queen’s Sentiments touching
‘ this Outrage: But I am to repeat it again, that
‘ her Majesty will not forbear, by all possible Means
‘ to shew the extraordinary Indignation she had
‘ conceived against those who have put so notorious
‘ an Affront upon the Ambassador of her good
‘ Friend and Ally, his Czarish Majesty, your Master.
‘ I

‘ I cannot conclude without returning Thanks to
 ‘ your Excellency for your last Letter of Yesterday;
 ‘ assuring you that my Duty, as well as Inclina-
 ‘ tion, engages me to use my utmost Efforts, in
 ‘ order to procure the most ample Satisfaction for
 ‘ your Excellency; and that nothing affords me
 ‘ greater Delight, than being persuaded, that you’ll
 ‘ do me the Justice to believe, that I am, with a
 ‘ great deal of Respect and Affection, Sir, your
 ‘ Excellency’s, &c.

Signed, *H. Boyle.*

*To his Excellency M. de Matueof,
 Ambassador Extraordinary of
 his Czariſh Majesty.*

After these Letters were written, the *Muscovite*
 Ambassador retired from Court, and went to *Hol-*
land; after which a Letter was sent by his Czariſh
 Majesty to the Queen, in *Latin*, of which the fol-
 lowing is a Translation.

After the usual Titles.

‘ **W**E cannot forbear notifying to your Ma-
 ‘ jesty, with how much Trouble of Mind
 ‘ and Horror, by the humble Remonstrance of *An-*
 ‘ *drew de Matueof*, our Ambassador at your Court,
 ‘ charged with several important Commissions, we
 ‘ have received an unexpected Piece of News, *viz.*
 ‘ That the said Ambassador, after having obtained
 ‘ an Audience of Leave of your Majesty at *London*,
 ‘ the Place of your Residence, out of premeditated
 ‘ Malice, and of set Purpose, (as it appears) was
 ‘ set upon, in the open Street, by several Bailiffs,
 ‘ who received their Commission from a certain Vis-
 ‘ count, or Sheriff, and acted like Robbers, against
 ‘ the publick Laws of Nations, with an unheard-
 ‘ of and unparallelled Barbarity: For by disper-
 ‘ sing his Servants, violently breaking his Coach,
 ‘ taking away his Sword, Cane, and Hat, and tear-
 VOL. I. M ing

ing his Cloaths, put upon him such a notorious Affront, as no civiliz'd Person would presume to offer to a foreign Minister of his Character, nor even to a Commoner, unless he would run the Risque of being most severely punished : And what most of all enhances the Heinousness of the Fact, while our said Ambassador, crying out for Help against the Outrage and Robbery, had got together some Persons, who intended to rescue him out of the Hands of the Pillagers ; and when they, for that Purpose, had stop'd the Coach, and being desirous to know the Cause, brought him into the next Victualling-House ; the audacious Miscreants produced a Warrant from the Magistrate to detain the said Ambassador for the Sum of fifty Pounds Sterling, due from him to certain Merchants ; and when the People, who ran together, began to separate again upon the Discovery of the Matter, they forthwith hurry'd him into a Hackney-Coach, taken by Force, and deliver'd him up to be confin'd in a certain infamous House, called the *Black-Raven*. And although our said Ambassador had notify'd this unheard-of and flagitious Outrage to the Secretary of State ; nevertheless he could not be found, and Secretary *Walpole* only came to the said House, not to set him at Liberty (as it most evidently appears) but to be an Eye Witness of this barbarous Usage, the like to which was never yet seen under the Sun. Neither did he offer any Assistance to our Ambassador, as a Person skill'd in the publick Law of Nations, which protects the Character of an Ambassador, from all Manner of Insults, but went away : So that our said Ambassador being destitute of all Help, and forsaken, was forc'd to redeem himself from the House of Bondage, and after a long Space of Time to procure his Liberty.

Forasmuch then as our Majesty is apparently assaulted by this wicked Attempt, and Indignity put upon the Person of our Ambassador, such as
 ' was

‘ was never practised, nor even heard of in the
 ‘ whole World, much less among civiliz’d People,
 ‘ not only profaning, but quite subverting the Law
 ‘ of Nations: Therefore, hoping that your Royal
 ‘ Majesty will have a due Regard to the grievous
 ‘ Affront offered to us in the Person of our Am-
 ‘ bassador, together with the Infringement of the
 ‘ Law of Nations occasioned primarily by the Sher-
 ‘ riff, as the Author of the whole Mischief, in as
 ‘ much as the said Sheriff countenanced so auda-
 ‘ cious an Attempt, and look’d upon the detaining
 ‘ of our Ambassador as a Trifle, and secondarily
 ‘ by the Bailiffs, who presumed to abuse our said
 ‘ Ambassador in the open Street, after the above-
 ‘ mentioned Manner; and lastly, by the Merchants,
 ‘ who occasioned his Confinement (as is evident
 ‘ from their malevolent Instigation in order to
 ‘ overthrow the antient Friendship, established with
 ‘ us and our Empire) wherefore we being persua-
 ‘ ded, that your Majesty will esteem those Per-
 ‘ sons no otherwise than as the most profligate of
 ‘ Pillagers and Violators of the Law of Nations,
 ‘ proportionably to their Guilt, we entreat your
 ‘ Majesty to consent, that for an Example to others,
 ‘ a diligent Search be made after the rest of the
 ‘ Accomplices of the Crime, and that a capital Pu-
 ‘ nishment, according to the Rigour of the Law, be
 ‘ inflicted on them all, or at least such an one as is
 ‘ adequate to the Nature of the Affront which
 ‘ every particular Person put upon the Amba-
 ‘ dor.

‘ The same Ambassador, by Virtue of the In-
 ‘ structions given him on this Subject, will more
 ‘ largely explain our Request to your Majesty;
 ‘ which has been already declared by our Ministers
 ‘ to your Majesty’s Resident in our Court. On
 ‘ those Considerations we have Reason to hope
 ‘ from your Majesty’s Justice such a Satisfaction
 ‘ for this intolerable Outrage; and the rather, in
 ‘ Regard that your Majesty’s Honour and the Re-
 ‘ putation of all your Subjects of *Great-Britain*,
 M 2 ‘ will

‘ will, by this Means become famous throughout
 ‘ the whole World; and we shall be certainly as-
 ‘ sured of the Continuance of your Royal Friend-
 ‘ ship, and all Effects of a contrary Opinion will
 ‘ be entirely remov’d; and lest, upon Failure of a
 ‘ Satisfaction worthy of and equivalent to the in-
 ‘ jur’d Honour we be compell’d to obtain it by way
 ‘ of Reprisal, which indeed would be very irksome to
 ‘ us, upon Account of that particular Esteem we
 ‘ have for your Majesty’s Friendship. Finally, we
 ‘ with your Majesty Health and a prosperous
 ‘ Reign.

*Given at our Camp near the Village of Sowolewo,
 the 17th Day of September, O. S. in the Year of
 our Lord 1708, and the 27th of our Reign, by our
 affectionate Brother.*

*Sign’d by his Czarish Majesty Peter; underneath,
 Count Golowin, Peter Scapfiroff, Secretary
 of the Privy-Council.*

An Account of the farther Proceedings in this Affair, and how it was determin’d, will be found in the second Volume of this History. I shall now return to the *Ukrain*, where the King of Sweden was at a Distance from all Places, from whence he could hope for Relief, except from *Stanislaus* in *Poland*, but that Prince found too much Employment there, and knew too well the Hazard it would be to attempt to march into the *Ukrain*, when the *Muscovites* could so easily stop his Passage, to be able to give him any Assistance. In short, all things now conspired to ruin the King of Sweden’s Army. The Winter which was a very remarkable one, even in *England*, for the Severity of the Cold, was so sharp in those Parts, that above two thousand of the *Swedish* Soldiers perished merely by the Extremity of the Weather. The greatest Part of the Troops were without Boots, Shoes, or Cloaths, and very often all of them wanted Bread.

Not-

1709. Notwithstanding this Abatement of *Charles's* Strength, the Czar, at the Desire of some of the *Swedish* Prisoners, released an Officer of a Regiment upon his Parole, to endeavour once more to prevail upon him to agree to a Cartel for exchanging Prisoners, which was what he had obstinately refused, during the whole War. The Counts *Piper* and *Hermelin*, the *Swedish* Ministers, considering the declining Condition of their Master's Affairs, charged the *Swedish* Officer, when he returned to the Czar, to insinuate, that if proper Proposals of Peace were offered at that Time, the King of *Sweden* might listen to them, which when his Czarish Majesty was told, he sent the same Officer back again, with a Letter from Count *Golovin*, his Minister for foreign Affairs, to Count *Piper*, with Proposals for an Accommodation on very easy and moderate Terms, which were only that his Czarish Majesty should keep *Petersburgh* with *Ingria*, as Part of his hereditary Dominions; and offered at the same Time, to give an Equivalent for *Narva*: But *Charles XII.* whose Army was now reduced to eighteen thousand Men, absolutely refused to treat; but renewed his Intentions of penetrating as far as *Moscow*; and went with this View, at the latter End of *May*, and laid Siege to *Pultowa*, a Town upon the River *Vorsklat*, lying on the Eastern Borders of *Ukrania*. He was in great Hopes of supplying the Wants of his Army by the Conquest of this Place, where the Czar had laid up great Quantities of Provisions; but neither the Valour of the *Swedes*, nor the Intelligence that the Traitor *Mazepa* had in the Town, could give him Success. Nor could he prevent Prince *Menzikeff* from throwing Succours into the Place, notwithstanding all his Precaution; which made the Garrison near ten thousand strong. With the Difficulties of the Undertaking the Courage and Resolution of the King of *Sweden* increased, he pressed the Siege warmly, and had already taken the Courtine, when he himself received a Wound in his Heel; and im-

mediately after was told, that the Czar was coming up with an Army, at least double the Number of his own, consisting of fresh Troops well cloathed and fed, and now thoroughly experienced in the Art of War.

The Wound which the King of Sweden had received prevented his acting himself with the same Vigour that was usual to him, he found himself inclosed between the *Borysthene*s and the River of *Pultawa*, hemmed in by a large Army, and under a Necessity of making his Way through the Enemy, or perishing by Hunger. In this Extremity he sent for the Velt-Marschal *Renchild* into his Tent in the Night, and then with great Serenity and Calmness gave him Orders to attack the Czar the next Morning. *Renchild*, though somewhat surprized at the Resolution the King had taken, made no Reply, he knew it was in vain to dispute with him, so went away in order to obey his Commands, and the King himself slept till Break of Day.

On the 27th of June 1709, very early in the Morning the Action between the two Armies began; about twenty-five thousand *Swedes* came out of their Trenches, and marched directly against the Czar's Army, which were then beginning to form their Camp. The Generals *Renchild*, *Leuvenhaupt*, *Field*, *Schlippenbach*, *Horn*, *Sparre*, *Hamilton*, the Prince of *Wirtemberg*, related to the King, and others who had most of them been at the Battle of *Narva*, put their Subalterns and Soldiers in Mind of that Day, when eight thousand *Swedes* had overcome a hundred thousand *Muscovites* in their Intrenchments. The King, on Account of his Wound, was obliged to be carried in a Litter at the Head of his Foot. The *Swedish* Horse fell upon their Enemy's Squadrons with their wanted Fury; and the *Muscovites* fell back in some Disorder. The Czar himself, running to rally them, had his Hat shot through, and Prince *Menzikoff* had no less than three Horses killed under him. Upon this *Charles* made no doubt but the Battle would be gained, especially if General

neral *Creuts*, whom he had detached with five thousand Men, and impatiently expected, had fallen upon the Enemy's Flank; but *Creuts* went out of the Way and marched off. The Czar, who had thought himself lost, had now Time to rally his Horse, with which he fell upon the King's Cavalry in his Turn, and that not being supported by *Creuts's* Detachment, was broken, and *Schlippenbach* taken in the Engagement. The *Russians*, opening from their Lines, advanced to attack the *Swedish* Infantry, seventy-two Pieces of Cannon playing upon them at the same Time, whose Artillery was only four indifferent Mortar-Pieces, the *Swedes* having left the rest in their Camp, with about three thousand Men. The Czar likewise, with an extraordinary Presence of Mind, detached Prince *Menzikoff* to post himself between *Pultowa* and the *Swedes*; by which Means he cut off all Communication between the Troops remaining in the Camp, and the rest of the *Swedish* Army, and *Menzikoff* afterwards meeting with the three thousand Men, which were a *Corps de Reserve*, he surrounded and cut them in Pieces.

When the *Muscovite* Foot were come out of their Lines, and a Disposition was made for a general Engagement, the Czar was in the Center of his Army; he had yet no higher Title than Major-General, and served under General *Czeremetoff*; but on this Occasion he went on a fine *Turkish* Horse from Rank to Rank among his Men, as their Sovereign, to encourage and promise them Rewards.

Charles XII. on his Side, by the Assistance of General *Renschild*, put his Army in the best Disposition he could: He endeavoured to sit his Horse, but finding himself unable, got into his Litter again. The Battle was renewed about nine of the Clock, and almost at the Beginning of it, the King of *Sweden's* Litter was shatter'd to Pieces with a Cannon Ball, and he himself overturned: When the *Swedes* saw their King fall, they immediately gave Way, and all were put to the Sword. A single Line of

ten thousand *Muscovites* now routed the *Swedish* Army, so much were Matters alter'd; and this one Action lost the redoubted *Charles XII.* the Fruits of nine glorious Campaigns, and the Title of *Invincible.*

He would, if he had been able, have rallied some of his Regiments; but the *Muscovites* pursued them too closely with their Pikes, Swords, and Bayonets. The Generals *Renchild*, *Hamilton*, and *Stakelberg* were taken Prisoners already, with the Prince of *Wirtemberg.* All was in Confusion, the Camp was forced; Count *Piper*, and most of the Officers of the Chancery had quitted it, and knew not what was become of their King, but wandered about till they were all taken Prisoners.

The very same Day the Battle was fought his Czarish Majesty wrote the following Account of it himself to the General Velt-Mareschal *Goltz.*

Monsieur, the General, Velt-Mareschal Lieutenant,

‘ I Acquaint you by the Presents, with the great
 ‘ Victory which I have very unexpectedly obtained by the Blessing of God, and the unspeakable
 ‘ Bravery of my Troops, with very little Loss on
 my Side, in the following Manner: The Enemy
 ‘ attacked early in the Morning, with all their
 ‘ Forces, both Horse and Foot, our Cavalry, which
 ‘ behaved so well, that the Enemy’s were repulsed
 ‘ with great Loss. They drew up again in Order of
 ‘ Battle before our Army; whereupon we caused
 ‘ our Infantry to march out of their Intrenchments, and drew up our Forces in Order of Battle,
 ‘ and posted our Horse on the Wings of the Foot,
 ‘ which being perceived by the Enemy, they did
 ‘ the like, and having attacked us, they were so
 ‘ well received by our Troops, that they were
 ‘ obliged to quit the Field, and our Troops took
 ‘ many Standards, Colours, and Cannon, and among
 ‘ the Prisoners there are the General Velt-Mareschal *Renchild*, besides four other Generals, viz.

Schlip-

' *Schlippenbach*, *Stakelbergh*, *Hamilton*, and *Rosen*, the
' first Minister of State, Count *Piper*, and the two
' Secretaries of State, *Hermelin* and *Cederhielm*, and
' some thousands of Soldiers and Officers; of which
' we will cause the Particulars to be sent to you
' very speedily, because the Shortness of the Time
' does not permit to do it at present. To say all
' in a Word, the Enemy's whole Army has had the
' Fate of *Phaëton*. We do not know yet what is
' become of the Person of the King of *Sweden*, or
' whether he is living, or with our Fathers deceased.
' We have commanded our Lieutenants-General,
' *Galiczin* and *Baur* to pursue the flying Enemy
' with our Cavalry. We wish you, with this our
' Victory, all Prosperity.

Pultowa, June 27, 1709.

Signed, PETER.

P. S. *The Prince of Wirtemberg, a Relation of
the King of Sweden, is brought this Moment
Prisoner.*

When the Czar was told, that the King of *Sweden*'s Litter was found, all broken to Pieces in the Field of Battle; he expressed an extraordinary Concern for the Fate of that Prince who he thought was slain, and whose Bravery he always admir'd, and order'd that his Body should be sought for among the Dead.

Charles XII. though no way able to defend himself, was yet unwilling to fly, till persuaded by *Mullern*, his Chancellor, to cross the *Borysbienes*, and go to *Turkey*, that he might escape falling into the Hands of his Enemy, and where perhaps he might get Assistance to renew the War.

But before he listened to this Advice, he was willing, for the first Time, to try what might be effected by Negotiation; and therefore in the Interim between his own Defeat and the Surrender of the remaining Part of his Forces at *Perewoloczna*,

whither Prince *Mentshoff* was posted after them, he sent Major-General *Meyerfeldt* to his Czarish Majesty, to let him know, that he would accept of the Peace which he had several Times offered him; and if that was refused, he desired to go freely out of his Country, and to retire into *Poland*. The Czar, surprized at this Language, answered, that the King of *Sweden* had thought too late of coming into the proposed Treaty of Peace, several Articles of which were now to be alter'd, as the Face of Affairs was greatly alter'd: And that, as he had penetrated into his Country, without considering the Consequences, it was his Business at present to think which Way he should get out of it; but that, far from setting them at Liberty, he should forthwith send to take the Birds that were caught in his Net.

A Trumpet was charged with this Answer, but Major-General *Meyerfeldt* was put under arrest, not only for coming without a Passport, but as he was before taken Prisoner at the Battle of *Calish*, and enlarged only on Condition that the King of *Sweden* should release a *Russian* General, which was not comply'd with.

Charles XII. finding that this pretended Moderation had no Effect upon the Czar, prepared to follow the Advice of his Chancellor *Mullern*; he was obliged, on Account of his Wound, to go in a Coach that had belonged to General *Meyerfeldt* drawn by twelve Horses, and his People that had escaped followed him, some on Foot, some on Horseback, and others in little Waggon, which had been brought over the River for the Sick and Wounded. Having wander'd about, and fasted so long that they were in Danger of perishing for want of Water and Provisions, they at last arrived on the Northern Side of the Bog, about a League from *Cracow*, from whence the King sent General *Poniatosky* with Secretary *Clinckson*, to the Bashaw of the Place, to make his Compliments, and desire Leave to pass through the *Ottoman* Territories under his Government. The Bashaw, with great Civility,
and

and very opportunely, made him an Offer of Refreshments, and gave Orders, that all the Boats that could be met with should be got together for the King's and his People's Passage. There not being a sufficient Number of Boats to carry them all, about five hundred Men were left on that Side the River, who were soon after taken Prisoners by General *Walkowisky*, before the Return of the Boats, and even in Sight of the King of Sweden, just landed on the other Side. The Czar had sent this General in Pursuit of the *Swedes*, and, having now learnt what was become of the King, did not much doubt of his being brought Prisoner to him with the rest; for he was pleased to say to the *Swedish* Generals who were his Prisoners, *that he wanted his Brother Charles to keep them Company; but he had sent Walkowisky to fetch him.* However he got safe to *Bender* in the *Turkish* Dominions where he was well received and hospitably treated.

As soon as Prince *Menzikoff* came within Sight of *Perevoloczna*, where General *Leuvenhaupt* was encamped with the *Swedish* Troops that had escaped the Battle of *Pultowa*, he summoned him to lay down his Arms, or expect no Quarter. The General seeing no possible Means of retreating, and having the King's Orders not to drive Things to the last Extremity in the Condition his Affairs were at that Time, sent Major-General *Greutz*, Colonel *Duker*, Lieutenant-Colonel *Transfetter*, and Adjutant-General *Douglas*, to Prince *Menzikoff*, to endeavour to obtain from him some advantageous Terms, and especially to take Care of the Number of Sick and Wounded that were with him. These Officers executed the Commission they were charged with so well, that the *Russian* General concluded with them the following *Capitulation*.

First, All the *Swedish* Troops, without Exception, who are commanded by Count *Leuvenhaupt*, as well Generals and Officers as Soldiers, shall, with their Servants, yield themselves Prisoners of War to his Czarish Majesty,

Second,

Second, All private Soldiers, Troopers, Dragoons and Musqueteers, shall lay down their Arms, and remain Prisoners of War till their Exchange or Ransom; but they shall keep their Mounting, and all that they have, except their Arms and Ammunition. And all their Horses, except those belonging to the Officers, shall be delivered to his Czarish Majesty.

Third, All the General Officers, and other Officers, shall keep their Baggage and Equipages, and their Persons shall be released without Ransom or Exchange, as soon as Peace shall be made between his Czarish Majesty and the King of Sweden. In the mean Time, they shall be honourably used, and be permitted to go, for a while, to their own Country on their Parole.

Fourth, The Swedish Artillery, all the Ammunition, Colours, Standards, and Instruments of Musick, shall be delivered to his Czarish Majesty; as shall likewise the military Chest (or Camp-Treasure) of the King of Sweden, in the State it now is.

Fifth, The Zaporogians and other Rebels now among the Troops of Sweden, shall be immediately delivered to his Czarish Majesty.

Sixth, For the Security and Confirmation of this Agreement, the forementioned Articles shall be signed by the Generals commanding the Army of his Czarish Majesty, and that of the King of Sweden; and a duplicate shall be made of this Capitulation.

Done in the Camp of Perewoloczna, the 30th of June, O. S. 1709.

Signed,

Alexander Prince of Menzikoff.
The Count of Leuvenhaupt.

A D D I T I O N.

All the Generals and Officers shall not only retain their Baggage, but likewise their Servants; and the

the Commissaries, Auditors, Secretaries, Chaplains, and Surgeons, shall likewise be permitted to keep their Baggage and Servants as the Officers.

When his Czarish Majesty was informed of the King of *Sweden's* having passed the *Borysthenes*, with *Mazeppa* and a few others, he wrote another Letter to General *Goltz*, then in the *Volhinia*, where he commanded twenty thousand Men, which his Majesty had sent to support the Crown Army, threatened by King *Stanislaus*, and General *Crassaw*, at the Head of twelve thousand *Swedens*, who were pillaging *Poland* a second Time. Wherein he says,

‘ **W**E have already given you Advice of the
 ‘ happy Victory which we obtained over
 ‘ our Enemies, on the 27th of *June*, O. S. and we
 ‘ join here a Relation by which you may learn in
 ‘ what Manner our Troops have dealt with the
 ‘ Remainder of the Enemy’s Army, and forced
 ‘ them to yield at Discretion, and by which you will
 ‘ see, what a compleat and unheard-of Victory it
 ‘ has pleased the Almighty to giye us. As the King
 ‘ of *Sweden* has escaped with a small Number of
 ‘ his People, and as I apprehend, that he has
 ‘ made his Retreat towards the *Volhinia*, you are,
 ‘ without any Loss of Time, to order some regular
 ‘ Troops to march and meet him, and endeavour
 ‘ to take him Prisoner, before he has joined the
 ‘ Forces he has yet in *Poland*.

Sign’d,

PETER.

At the same Time that the Czar sent this Order to General *Goltz*, the King of *Sweden* had dispatch’d another to General *Crassaw*, wherein after informing him of his Disaster, he commanded him to leave *Poland*, and save his Troops in the best Manner he could.

The Czar being informed by Prince *Menzikoff* of the good Success he had at *Perezwoloczna*, where he had all his Enemies in his Power without striking a Blow.

a Blow, went himself to that Place, where he arrived at the very Instant that the before-mentioned Capitulation was executed. The Fate of so many unhappy Men touch'd him very sensibly, and he more than once express'd his Disapprobation of the Conduct of a Prince, who could sacrifice in such a Manner to his Ambition, so many faithful Subjects, of whom he ought to have been the Father and Protector.

The greatest Part of the *Swedish* Prisoners were dispersed in the Czar's Dominions, and great Numbers sent to *Siberia*, which Country, a wild and barren Place before, received great Improvements from their inhabiting there, and setting up divers Trades and Manufactures for their Support, as is mentioned in the former Part of this Work.

His Czarish Majesty entertained the *Swedish* Generals with great Civility, and treating some of them at his own Table with that Affability that was so natural to him, he drank a Health to his *Masters in the Art of War*; *Renchild* asked who those were that his Majesty was pleas'd to honour with so great a Title? 'It is you yourselves, Gentlemen, the *Swedish* Generals, replied the Czar. Then says *Renchild*, is not your Majesty a little ungrateful to treat your *Masters* so severely? Upon which his Majesty order'd all their Swords to be returned to them, and to *Renchild* he gave one from his own Side, on the Account I am going to relate: His Majesty had desired to know what Number of Men he thought the King of *Sweden* could have brought into the Field, and upon *Renchild's* telling him about nineteen thousand *Swedes*, and ten or eleven thousand *Cossacks*; how was it possible, says he, that a Prince so prudent as the King of *Sweden*, could venture himself with such a handful of Men in a strange Country, and especially such a one as this? To which, *Renchild* answer'd, that he and the other Generals were not always consult'd about the Operations of the War, but thought themselves oblig'd, as faithful Subjects, to obey their King without any Con-

Contradiction. This Expression of Duty pleased the Czar so much, that taking his Sword from his own Side, he presented it to *Renchild*, desiring him to preserve it as a Token of the Esteem he had for him for his Fidelity to his Prince.

His Czarish Majesty likewise shew'd a great Regard for Count *Piper*, and that none of the Prisoners of Distinction might want any Thing, he divided them among his Generals; *Renchild* fell to the Lot of *Czeremetoff*; Count *Piper* was trusted to the Care of Count *Golofskin*; the Prince of *Wirtemberg* to Prince *Menzikoff*; General *Stakelberg* to General *Ronne*, and in like Manner all the rest were disposed of.

His Majesty having taken this Care of his Enemies, thought next how he should reward the Valour and good Conduct of his own Officers; on which Account he made several very considerable Promotions: Prince *Menzikoff* was made Velt-Mareschal-General, Count *Golofskin*, Grand-Chancellor, *Ronne* Chief-General, Baron *Schapiroff* Vice-Chancellor; the Princes *Repin* and *Gregory Dolgoruki*, had the blew Ribbon of the Order of St. *Andrew*; all the other Officers were advanced in Proportion to their Rank and Services, and his Majesty ordered proper Rewards to all the Soldiers. Among all these Promotions he did not forget himself; it has been already observed, that this Monarch was resolved to pass gradually through all the Posts both in his Army and Navy, and would only be preferred as his Merit gave him Pretensions; and alledging at this Time, as Proofs of his Valour, that he had taken a *Swedish* General Prisoner, in the Heat of the Engagement, and had a Ball shot through his Hat, he was made a Major-General. The rebel *Cossacks*, came to him to make their Submission, and he was pleased to grant them his Pardon, on Condition that they laid down their Arms, and that Quarter should be given to no one of them found under Arms in that Campaign: At the same Time he promised a Reward of ten thousand

and Roubles, to whoever should bring in old *Mazepa* dead or alive.

It is easy to imagine how this important News was received at *Moscow*. The *Czarowitz*, who was then in that City, ordered Feasts and publick Rejoicings, in which all the foreign Ministers, and all the People had Part; and in Hopes that his Czarish Majesty, who was then looked upon as the Defender and Preserver of the Liberty of the North, would soon visit his Capital, thirty triumphal Arches were prepared and erected in the Streets, through which it was supposed he would pass; but Affairs of great Moment called him elsewhere.

His Charish Majesty took Care, as soon as possible, to acquaint the Emperor of *Germany*, the King of *Prussia*, King *Augustus*, and the States of *Holland*, with this great Success of his Arms; and he dispatched likewise a Captain of his Guards to the Duke of *Marlborough*.

The following is the Memorial that the *Sieur Matueof*, his Ambassador at the *Hague*, presented to the President of the Assembly of the *States-General*, on the seventeenth of *August*, after this Memorable Action.

High and most mighty Lords,

AS the *Most High* has always shewn himself a mighty Defender of the Cause of Justice, and reveng'd himself upon ambitious Aggressors, who set no Bounds to their malicious Attempts, by protecting the former, and confounding the latter; so 'tis evident, That the great Alteration which has lately happened in the Affairs of the Northern War, was wrought by the same divine Providence; inasmuch as the haughty Troops of *Sweden*, whose Career none durst oppose, having ravaged *Poland*, exhausted *Saxony*, and now threatened the utter Subversion of the Empire of *Great-Russia*, have received a total Overthrow. Having in Vain besieged the Town of *Pultowa*, in *Ukrania*, they

‘ they marched on the ^{27th of June} ~~8th of July~~ last, with great
 ‘ Diligence, against his most sacred Czarish Majesty,
 ‘ and fell upon his Army with that Fury, as if
 ‘ they had a Mind to kill with their very Looks;
 ‘ but with a Success in no wise answerable to their
 ‘ tow’ring Hopes: For the two Armies had not
 ‘ long engaged before the *Swedes* were defeated,
 ‘ put to Flight, and pushed to the adjacent Forest,
 ‘ suffering thus the Punishment due to their wicked
 ‘ Design, by the most dreadful Slaughter which
 ‘ ensued, as well from the Swords, as Cannon,
 ‘ of the Victors; nor durst the Enemy attempt
 ‘ to rally: So that, even though the Almighty
 ‘ who (as a just Vengeance upon their repeated
 ‘ Cruelties) deliver’d the Remains of their fugitive
 ‘ Troops into the Hands of his Czarish Majesty,
 ‘ at *Perevoloczna* upon the Banks of the *Borysthenes*
 ‘ the 3^d of the same Month, had not vouchsafed
 ‘ that Addition, the Victory had, nevertheless,
 ‘ been compleat and perfect. Wherefore, as his
 ‘ most sacred Czarish Majesty has nothing so much
 ‘ at Heart, but he must communicate the same to
 ‘ his true and sincere Friends, your High Mighti-
 ‘ nesses, he immediately sent express, Captain *Michael Ostrohard*, who was an Eye Witness both
 ‘ of the Fight, and of the Enemies Surrender,
 ‘ commanding me, his Ambassador, who have re-
 ‘ ceived a particular Account of all that is above
 ‘ written, to notify to your High Mightinesses, in
 ‘ his Name, and as a Pledge of his hearty Affec-
 ‘ tion, these his Czarish Majesty’s Fatigues, and
 ‘ the Victory obtain’d under his auspicious Con-
 ‘ duct.

‘ That I may not, therefore, be wanting, in my
 ‘ Duty, I most humbly present your High Mighti-
 ‘ nesses with these Relations, by Virtue of the
 ‘ Orders I have receiv’d; assuring your High
 ‘ Mightinesses of his Czarish Majesty’s Inclination,
 ‘ not only to cultivate his ancient, strict, and faith-
 ‘ ful Friendship with your High Mightinesses, but
 ‘ to

‘ to make your High Mightinesses Partakers of
 ‘ the Advantages, that, by God’s Blessing, may be
 ‘ expected from the ensuing Tranquility; his
 ‘ Czarish Majesty being very insensible of a Good,
 ‘ which cannot be communicated to his Friends;
 ‘ and not in the least doubting, but that, as his
 ‘ Czarish Majesty congratulates your High Mightinesses upon all your Successes, so your High-
 ‘ Mightinesses reciprocally and sincerely rejoice
 ‘ at his Czarish Majesty’s Victories.

‘ For the Rest, as it has been my constant
 ‘ Study, for the Space of almost ten Years, to
 ‘ deserve well of your High Mightinesses, by
 ‘ maintaining and improving the Friendship there
 ‘ is between his Czarish Majesty, and your High
 ‘ Mightinesses; So I shall always continue to
 ‘ make it my Endeavour; who, heartily wishing
 ‘ your High Mightinesses all manner of Prosperi-
 ‘ ties, remain

High and most Mighty Lords

Your Servant at every Command,

Hague, Aug.

A. de Matueof.

$\frac{1}{2}$, 1709.

I think I cannot more properly conclude the *First Volume* of this Work than at this Period, which placed the Czar in a quite different Light, from what he has hitherto appeared in, by this glorious Victory over so powerful an Enemy, who was now almost entirely vanquished; which likewise shews the great Improvements, his indefatigable Labour and wise Counsels had made in his military Affairs, and which laid open the Way to his future Conquests: For he was already become Conqueror of one of the greatest Heroes the World had known.

The End of the First VOLUME.

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I N D E X,

TO THE

FIRST VOLUME

OF THE

LIFE of *PETER I.*

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